CITY AND CHURCH IN TRANSITION

MURRAY H. LEIFFER



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CITY AND CHURCH IN TRANSITION

CITY AND CHURCH IN TRANSITION

A Study of the Medium-Sized City and Its Organized Religious Life

by

MURRAY H. LEIFFER

Professor of Sociology

Garrett Theological Seminary

Evanston, Illinois

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To My Wife

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Foreword

METROPOLIS and village have received the unstinted attention of sociologists. Urban specialists have been alert to the many-faceted life of the Great City, while their rural confreres have been concerned with the social organization of the open country and the small town. Comparatively neglected is the " in-between " city. Like the average man at the circus, it has received less attention than the giant or the midget. Nevertheless Mediopolis, the city of a hundred thousand inhabitants, is one of the most significant of all American population groupings. The study of it not only illuminates the local social and economic life, but also sheds light on the process of city growth, and hence has significance for those interested in either larger or smaller aggregates.

While a detailed case study of one municipality — like that made of Muncie, Indiana (a city of 46,000), by the Lynds — reveals significant trends, it was decided that in the present research a comparative analysis of a score or more cities should be made in order to gain a knowledge of the general patterns and problems of medium-sized cities as a class, and also to determine what, if any, distinguishable types existed. This project arose in part out of a request from the Home Missions Council, an interdenominational organization, for the study of the social and religious life of cities whose population approximates one hundred thousand. As the investigation of the one hundred forty cities in this population class (50,000 to 150,000) progressed their wider sociological significance became increasingly evident, fur-

nishing the foundation for the theses of this book, which may be summarily stated as follows:

1. There is a typical pattern of growth from the small city, with its single center and unified community life, to the complex, multi-communitied metropolis. The crucial change takes place as the city grows from fifty thousand to one hundred fifty thousand (the medium-sized city).

2. The development, configuration, and function of organized religion parallel the urban pattern in this process of growth.

3. There are five distinguishable types of the medium-sized city (Mediopolis); the urban type shapes both the functioning and the problems of the church.

There is abroad among churchmen a more or less open conflict between the theological and the community points of view. The author espouses neither; the argument is not germane to the central thesis of this book. He does assume that the church cannot be dissociated from social, economic, and racial problems and that its organization and emphases will be influenced by the social setting. He recognizes that churchmen are at complete liberty to define for themselves the function of their own institutions; however, each definition when carried into action will bear its own kind of fruit in terms of community response, as the chapters on the church in the city demonstrate.

While it is not for a sociologist to state what should be the answer of churchmen to the question of their institution's function and program, he may properly point out the fact that the answer will definitely affect the role of the church in the community. This study, then, is presented not as a defense but rather as an analysis of the church; it aims to face realistically and frankly the present status and problems of the church in the medium-sized city.

The author is indebted to several hundred persons for assistance in the pursuit of this study. Students in his classes and research laboratory and ministers in various seminars have aided directly

and indirectly as they have analyzed their own churches and cities. A further contribution has been made by the three hundred and more pastors serving churches in various denominations and cities who have cooperated generously in describing their own program, objectives, and distinctive problems. Excerpts from these reports have been used throughout the book. Except where indicated, all quotations have been taken verbatim from the testimony of these ministers.

Acknowledgment is due Dr. Channing A. Richardson, superintendent of the Department of City Work for the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the assistance and stimulation he has given throughout the five years during which the investigation was carried on. The writer is also deeply grateful to his associate, Esther E. Bjornberg, for the uncounted weeks and months which she has devoted to the furtherance of the project. He is particularly indebted to his wife, whose constant aid and reinforcement have been forthcoming at every step in the process.

M. H. L.

PART ONE

THE CITY: THE CHURCH'S HABITAT

I

The Small City Grows Up

THE AMERICAN city is essentially a series of clever inventions and adjustments, some borrowed from Europe, many evolved by Yankee ingenuity. Skyscrapers and department stores, tenements and playgrounds, factories and zoning, social welfare and sewage disposal, regional planning and high-speed radial boulevards, have facilitated the astounding growth of urban population and at the same time have given a unique flavor to the modern American city. Though the latter has many traits in common with its European or Asiatic counterpart, it does have an original quality and presents its own distinctive patterns. Its growth has been more rapid, its communities more diverse in organization, its population more heterogeneous and, under the spur of improved transportation and real-estate promotion, ever more far-flung.

When, a short hundred years ago, the citizens of Chicago voted to incorporate as a town, there were only forty-three homes and fewer than two hundred residents. Today Chicago has a population of three and a half million; it has grown more in a hundred years than Paris did in a thousand. Los Angeles boasts a population increase of a million in the past twenty-five years. Such rapidity of growth accounts in no small measure for the amorphous quality of American urban life and for the nondescript character of its political, social, and, to some extent, religious organization.

European cities, established when America was yet an unsettled wilderness, were compactly built. A house was constructed to endure and when, because of dilapidation, it had to

be demolished, a new edifice was erected on the spot. Thus generation after generation lived along the same streets. Citizens wished to dwell as near as possible to the heart of the city because transportation facilities were poor, streets inadequately lighted, and police protection ineffective. Time has brought changes to European cities in these respects, but even so the iron hand of tradition still tends to maintain the long established pattern.

In startling contrast the American city, unbound by historical or familial traditions, with plenty of room for expansion and transportation facilities improving in each decade, has been prodigal of space and sprawls out leaving sizable vacant tracts even near the heart of the city. Furthermore, each family eagerly anticipates the time when it can move farther from the heart of the city into a section where living is more pleasant and prestige rating is higher. The citizens have played leapfrog with one another, moving steadily out toward the suburbs, leaving behind what they regard as outworn communities, into which less privileged groups filter. The congestion in the central business district may be just as acute as that in a European city, but at the close of the day the American has to go farther before he can eat his supper.

Factors in City Growth

Cities, like men and women, do not spring into existence full grown; they are born at some crossroad intersection and spend years in infancy and adolescence as they develop. Some never grow up, though all are eager to do so. Some arrive early at a period of decline and senility. Indeed, the ghost towns of the western states, with their deserted houses, stores with empty shelves, and saloons festooned with spider webs, are mute evidence that cities can actually die. Whether a city grows or declines depends to a large extent on its hinterland, i.e., the countryside surrounding the city and depending on it for certain types of leadership and service.

Several important factors are involved in this relationship between the city and its hinterland: (1) The size of the area which looks to the city as a trade center, buys from and sells to it, copies its fashions and finds in it entertainment and cultural stimulation. (2) The size of the population in this area, which may include a number of smaller towns and hamlets as well as open country districts. (3) The transportation channels which facilitate contact and trade between this outlying population and the city. (That the importance of these channels is not always recognized by the growing town is illustrated by the story of the Chicago merchants who vigorously opposed the construction of the Galena and Chicago railroad for fear that the farmers would no longer come into town if they could ship their produce directly east. However, after the railroad entered the city these same merchants were not long in recognizing their new opportunities, and quickly transformed themselves into wholesalers, thereby reaping the riches that flowed from the increased trade and shipping.) (4) The richness of the soil and the amount and variety of produce grown in the region, as well as any articles manufactured in the city. (5) The plane of living of the population, the knowledge and skill which influence their productivity, and their conception of what constitutes decent standards and wholesome living. The higher their standard the better the market which they constitute, the greater the trade for the city, and, other things being equal, the larger its population and influence. (6) The extent in city and hinterland of mechanization and technological development which affect the size of the urban center and its productivity. In economic organization and population the city develops with its region, rarely lagging behind or outstripping it. This may be called a symbiotic relationship (two dissimilar organisms, a city and a hinterland, living in close interdependent association, in this instance to the advantage of each).

Hamlets, being smaller units, can survive in closer proximity to one another than can large cities, which require a vast hinter-

land. A dozen families trading at the little general store, grinding their grain at the mill, patronizing the blacksmith shop or, more recently, the " gas " pump in front of the store, supply the necessary economic base. Here at the center of things the church is located and the school established.

Where natural resources warrant it the settlement will grow. More families move into the surrounding area, some of the older people build themselves houses in " town " and retire. A doctor with veterinary training opens an office in his parlor; a lawyer hangs out his shingle; a combined furniture salesroom and funeral parlor is established; a hardware and farm implement showroom brings more business to town. So one by one additional stores are opened, more homes are erected, a high school course is introduced, a railroad comes through. In a burst of civic self-consciousness a town hall is constructed. Opposite the station a small hotel is opened. In the meantime improved transportation facilities are bringing in from the outside more goods and more people and making possible better prices for farm produce. The hamlet matriculates as a village.

Not every village can continue to develop. Some achieve a population of three or five hundred and there remain, while their neighbors, blessed by location, population movement, and the state highway commission, exert an ever widening influence. When the hard-surfaced road comes through and people have cars, the farmers drive by the static village to its large bustling rival ten miles down the road. There one can choose between the two movie houses and later take his girl friend to any one of the four soft-drink palaces. This town has more and larger stores which carry a greater variety of goods; its churches are more pretentious, its schools more modern, and the town musicians play at the bandstand every Saturday night. With such competition the village can barely hold its own. In fact it has already become a part of the hinterland of the larger town, which has recently gained dignity by incorporation as a city!

Characteristics of the Small City

Small cities are not all alike, but they have many traits in common. The most evident of these is the business district, which ordinarily surrounds the courthouse square or spreads along two intersecting streets. Property values are highest at this junction. One corner is occupied by the bank, a second by the leading drugstore, and the others by such agencies as can pay the relatively high rent. A block or two away is the market. In the hamlet it would be useless to operate a farmers' market, because each family grows its own green stuff and keeps its own chickens; the demand for goods direct from the farm is therefore too small to justify a market. However, the increased population of the small city permits greater specialization in occupation. Consequently the market has utility in that it not only permits the townsfolk to buy directly from the farmer but also brings the latter to town where he will patronize the merchants.

A hamlet cannot support a wide variety of business establishments; a small city can, although some will be inadequately patronized. A study of the business services found in the trade centers of South Dakota clearly shows how various enterprises are added as towns increase in size. More than three-fourths of the state's trading centers with populations of less than fifty had a general store; not one had a department store; very few boasted farm produce markets, medical or health units, or clothing stores. All the towns of five hundred to a thousand inhabitants possessed, in addition to general stores, financial institutions, transportation and communication facilities of some kind, and farm supply stores; but in very few were there department stores. In the cities of five to ten thousand each of the enterprises on the entire schedule was represented, except that a small percentage still lacked farm produce markets.*

To return to the plan of the small city: Located on one of the business streets or on the market square is the town hall, and per-

* Paul H. Landis, *South Dakota Town-Country Trade Relations, 1901–1931.*

haps the combined police station and jail. The library and the newspaper office are also near by. Scattered about, but as near the center of things as possible, are the various churches, their members coming from all parts of the city and the surrounding countryside. Frequently these churches concentrate in what might be called an area of specialization, three or four of them being within a block of one another; or several may locate on the same thoroughfare, " Church street." The influence of the churches, like that of the business houses, reaches out into the countryside. People have a preference for the large store or expanding organization; they cherish the prestige which goes with bigness.

Even though the city is now incorporated and serves a hinterland which includes some five or ten villages, it is still a unified community * with one recognizable center. Every housewife is well aware that if she wishes to buy anything, from a pound of meat to a yard of cloth, she must go to Main street, for all the business houses of the town are there. A feeling of unity on the part of the citizens, a pride in the town, in its high school, its churches, its new community hall, its library and its band are observable. Residents realize the importance of these common in-

* An " urban community " may be defined as a delimited geographical area possessed of its own business center and residential districts as well as of the basic social institutions such as school, church, etc. In the case of the small city the community may be practically coterminous with the municipal boundaries. In the metropolis there are many communities, usually separated from one another and the rest of the city by physical barriers or interstitial areas; within them there is greater homogeneity than within the city as a whole. The residents are usually members of the same racial or national group, are in the same or similar occupational class, live in about the same type of dwelling, and frequently have the same religious affiliation.

Within the urban community is another type of social unit, sometimes termed the neighborhood. Here contacts are more intimate. Persons know one another, borrow from and gossip about one another; their children play together.

The term " community church " as employed throughout this work refers to a local and " indigenous " community religious institution; i.e., most of its members live within the local community as defined above. The church may or may not be interdenominational in scope.

terests and their own interdependence. Their *esprit de corps* impels them and their businessmen's association to further efforts for the advancement and beautification of their city. The importance of this unifying force must not be overlooked if one is to understand the " one-communitied " city and also the sharp contrast which it presents to Mediopolis and the greater metropolis.

The Metropolis, the Giant among Cities

Not every crossroads produces a hamlet, not every hamlet becomes a village, and only a few villages evolve into small cities. Where population is scattered, soil poor, crops uncertain (and, incidentally, these factors tend to go together, as in the Dakotas), there will be fewer towns per thousand square miles than in an area more favored by nature, like Ohio or Iowa ; and in such localities a metropolis cannot develop. Large cities are found only where there is an unusual combination of favorable factors: a rich hinterland with dense population and distinct transportation advantages.

Only with difficulty can one comprehend the size of a great metropolis, the sheer bulk of it. New York City, with a population of seven million, can exist only provided trainload after trainload of foodstuffs is brought daily to its warehouses and stores. It uses almost three million quarts of milk and seven million eggs a day. It is estimated that the population consumes over three and a half million tons of food a year. A baby is born every five minutes; in 1936, the total of births was 98,507. Approximately twelve thousand physicians and surgeons are available to care for these babies and other New Yorkers. It requires almost a thousand elementary and high schools to meet the educational needs of the children in this great city. There are more than fifteen hundred churches, and over eight hundred theaters with a seating capacity of approximately a million. The very size of such an aggregate creates complexities which scarcely even enter the mind of the resident in the small city.

The complexity in physical and social organization in such a

city stands in sharp, even startling, contrast to the simplicity of the small municipality. Instead of one business area and a unified town spirit there are many distinct communities, each with its own characteristics and its own business center. The metropolis acts as a mammoth sorting machine, shaking and sifting people until they settle in localities where dwell others of their own racial, economic, and (or) cultural background. Men and women prefer to live among those with a similar economic and cultural status and, in the case of the foreign-born, among those who share their mother tongue.

An important consideration is that within limits income determines rent-paying ability. A person earning twenty-five dollars a week cannot maintain a family in a community where the rent for a five-room apartment is eighty dollars a month, while one who can afford to live in the latter area may find it impossible to move into an exclusive residential suburb where large single-family dwellings and servants are the rule. Not only is he unable to reside in the more aristocratic area; he and his wife would feel uncomfortable were they to do so.

Each of the resulting racial, economic, or cultural communities has therefore a much greater degree of homogeneity than has the city as a whole. In Chicago, for example, there is an extensive Negro area comprising several distinct communities, each with its own social status. There are similar Polish, Italian, Scandinavian, Jewish, Chinese, and other racial communities. Of the 842,057 foreign-born persons living in the city of Chicago in 1930, approximately 150,000 were born in Poland. These would compose a city larger than Bridgeport or Des Moines. Together with the American-born children of Polish-born parents they would constitute a city of over 400,000. Sizable contingents have also come from Germany, Russia, Italy, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, and other European lands. It was natural that these people established communities of their own, preferring to live among those with a similar cultural background. So dominant are these racial

groups that in New York City in 1930 only 22 per cent of the population was classed as native white of native-born parentage.

In addition to the economic and racial bases for local community consciousness there is also tradition. In certain areas which were formerly separate villages or towns before annexation by the great city, the people still place their local district above the city in their thinking. It may be a generation or more before the inhabitants of such a community forget their old allegiance.

Again, in certain districts dwell skilled and semi-skilled workers, in others professional people and the better paid white-collar workers. Some sections comprise chiefly apartment houses, others, single-family dwellings. Indeed, within the city of Chicago there are about seventy-five recognizably distinct communities. Each has its own business district where the stores are generally manned by members of the racial group trading there; each has its own special advocates, its own local institutions and prides. There are political, social and business leaders acknowledged as such within the district whose influence elsewhere is small. In short a metropolis is not, except superficially, a unified organism. In antithesis to the small city it contains within itself many sharply contrasted communities which are often in conflict with one another. The larger and more complex the city becomes, the fewer the mutual interests of its residents. It is harder to obtain a consensus for the solution of civic problems because the citizens have fewer interests to bind them to one another and, under pressure of other varied contacts and associations, become unmindful of those which do exist.

Social Traits of the Metropolis

Size and complexity give the metropolis an interesting pattern, the various elements of which have an important bearing on social institutions and urban life.

1. *Specialization.* The central business district, the main downtown area, becomes ever more a place of differentiated activity.

One street or section is given over to imposing banks, brokerage houses, and other financial institutions to which the smaller banks in the local communities and surrounding cities and towns look for leadership, advice, and those specialized services which they cannot perform for themselves. On another street are the towering department stores which serve the city and surrounding areas and set a standard aped by smaller units. Also at the center are the large hotels, ready not only to shelter the wayfarer but also to furnish recreation for patrons of their restaurants and cabarets. Some office buildings will be occupied almost exclusively by law firms, others by physicians and dentists. Indeed, within the metropolis specialization is carried to such an extent that certain dentists in the " Medical Arts Building " concentrate on making bridges and plates, while fellow practitioners restrict their service to filling cavities or extracting teeth. Such specialization would be impossible in a small city. The larger the center the more advanced can be the division of labor. Development of subordinate business districts in the city tends to increase the amount of specialized trade at the center.

2. *Mobility.* The establishment of May first and October first as " moving days " is a phenomenon possible only in the city, where the home ownership rate is low and " it is easier to move than to get the landlord to redecorate the apartment." The movement of residents from one home to another marks the degree of mobility of population, characteristically high in the city although varying from community to community.

Closely related is what sociologists term the " fluidity " of city population; that is, the daily movement of people from home to work or entertainment and back again. Few are the urbanites who can walk from home to their places of business. Each morning, by rapid transit, streetcar, and automobile, people flood into the central district. When the sun sinks low in the west the eye travels to the clock to see how soon hat and coat may be donned and the return trip started. No sooner is the five to six o'clock rush over than a new procession of people forms, going to town

for dinner and the theater; and late at night an airplane observer could see the stream of bright headlights on cars carrying the merrymakers from the "hub" back to their homes in the outskirts. The higher rate of fluidity and mobility that characterizes the larger city results in a greater per capita demand for transportation facilities. These are the arteries and veins through which the lifeblood of the city flows.*

3. *Professionalization.* Baffled by the growing complexity of political organizations, by the variety of new municipal functions, by the impossibility of making his vote "count," the urbanite has lost much of the feeling of responsibility for good government which actuated him when he lived in a small city. Commonly such political loyalties as he does have are attached to his community rather than to the city as a whole. Confused and angered by stories of graft and corruption, he may develop a cynical or indifferent attitude. If he does go to the polls he frequently votes on the basis not of knowledge but of hearsay or perhaps of his own emotional reactions to the most recent scandal. In such large cities politics becomes a professionalized undertaking, a career. The politician must devote his time to the job of "keeping up fences," cultivating constituents, and doing various favors which will bring votes at the next election.

To a surprising degree the recreational life of the metropolis is also dumped into the hands of professionals. Baseball, football, and hockey matches as well as competitions and exhibitions in other sports are staged for the benefit of spectators who pay admission. Theaters, lectures, operas and concerts furnish the recreation for Mr. and Mrs. John Citizen who need only buy their tickets and "sit it out." Even in the church there is a tendency to hire someone to do work which formerly was undertaken by volunteers. If the members can afford it they prefer professional singers and may even employ persons to teach in the church

* In *The Regional Survey of New York and Its Environs* it is reported that on a typical business day 2,868,700 persons entered the district in Manhattan south of Fifty-ninth street.

school. Such professionalization offers certain advantages and is not necessarily to be deplored; however, it offers a decided contrast to the organization of life in less specialized and less complex communities.

4. *Anonymity.* There are areas within the large city, particularly in rooming house districts, where people prefer to remain anonymous and view with suspicion any comment or inquiry which might call for a personalized answer. Frequently indeed the landlady herself will not know the names of all her roomers, who move from one establishment to another every few months. This hotel and rooming house population is large — in Chicago, for example, two hundred and thirty-five thousand persons. These are in the main people who are foot-loose, who can shift from one boarding-house to another, from one city to another. They are the epitome of urban mobility and anonymity. Two hundred thirty-five thousand of them — more people than live in the entire city of Omaha.

To a lesser degree, men and women throughout the city erect barriers of reserve. People in an apartment house may never meet the occupants of the rooms across the hall, and if they do probably will not speak to them. City dwellers have escaped from the social control of small-town gossip and resent any attempt to reinstate it. Gossip is a symbol of the effective conserving nature of small-town life, and the social values which it has tend to disappear in the city, where intimate contacts are replaced by more formal relationships. People are busy and have their own pursuits, usually forming friendships on the basis of common interests rather than proximity of residence. Another reason for the anonymity of the city is the widespread fear of exploitation. Only one who has lived long in cities and has observed urban dwellers with care can understand how lonely thousands of individuals and families are beneath this mask of self-imposed anonymity.

5. *Disintegration and Disorganization.* The factors mentioned above, together with the general uncertainty as to standards and life values and goals, produce confusion and much unhappiness. There are disintegration and disorganization throughout the whole

of our society, but these forces focus in the metropolitan center, partly because of the variety of disturbing influences at work, partly because in the city old standards are maintained with greater difficulty and are broken down with greater ease, and partly because the city with its attractive offer of anonymity draws to itself those who have failed to make a happy adjustment in rural areas and small towns. This personal disorganization is evidenced by the higher incidence of mental disease in cities and by higher divorce, desertion, and delinquency rates than are found in simpler societies.

The church cannot escape these influences which are at work in the metropolis. For it and similar institutions the disintegrating factors are as significant as they are for individuals. Mobility and anonymity create baffling problems for the minister and those of his laity who regard it as their mission to reach the unchurched. However, for city dwellers who accept the church just as they accept the theater the success or failure of the church is no more significant than the failure of the local movie. This indifference itself constitutes one of the major problems of organized religion in the city. The minister who must make calls in a large apartment house, often receiving a rebuff through the speaking-tube, has a problem which the small-town pastor never faces.

The steady outward push of inhabitants and the consequent decline of population near the heart of the city result in the gradual weakening and final demise of many a downtown church organization. Scarcely a year goes by in such a city as Chicago but that one or more churches in areas of declining population close their doors. Others somewhat farther removed from the heart of the city suffer from an adverse population shift which has swept away the former adherents. Here again is a problem which the church board in a city of ten thousand inhabitants need not face.

These illustrations will serve to indicate that the metropolis not only changes the organization of personal and family living, but also influences the life and program of institutions.

Mediopolis: the In-Between City

In between the small city and the metropolis stands the medium-sized city with a population of a hundred thousand. This center no longer has the simple structure of the small city. Neither has it arrived at the complex and specialized organization of the metropolis. Without implying that the analogy is applicable in every respect, it may be suggested that the medium-sized city is in its development somewhat comparable to the human adolescent.

Adolescence is a condition and not merely an age level. It is a state of mind from which some people never emerge regardless of the number of their birthdays. Small children, simple in mind and thought, in experience and life organization, differ obviously from adults, who have come to know the ways of the world, are measurably sophisticated, and are adjusted to the varying calls and pressures of life. Between childhood and adulthood comes a period of adolescence; those in it have outgrown childhood but have not yet arrived at maturity. They are developing, changing, discovering new powers in themselves — and new problems.

Cities grow in much the same way. The small city with its simple structure, and the metropolis with its complex, elaborate organization are alike in this, that their status — economic, social, religious — is known for what it is. However, the middle-sized city of from fifty to one hundred fifty thousand inhabitants is undergoing a twofold change — that characteristic of our American culture in general and that peculiar to urban adolescence. It has ceased to be a single-centered community with all parts sharing in the life of the rest, but it has not as yet adjusted itself to, or rather grown into, complex metropolitan life. Change takes place in the metropolis also, but it is change from complexity to complexity, not from simplicity to complexity. The metropolis has long since lost its simple social structure and has reconciled itself to an unending series of population shifts and of changes in land values, in business, and in political organization.

It is only after a city reaches a population of fifty or a hundred

thousand that sizable satellite business areas begin to develop within a mile or so of the downtown center. Prior to that time, although there were many neighborhood stores and clusters of business houses at the intersections of important streets, sub-business districts were not in evidence. With the development of these new business centers comes a realization that the city is not one but several communities, and that what may be good for a particular district may be harmful to others or to the city as a whole. Consequently when the North Side demands a new bridge across the river the East Side objects lest trade be diverted from its business section. Herein the city resembles the adolescent, who begins to find within himself contending desires.

Like the adolescent the city in this stage of development is not well understood. Leading citizens, like the parents of teen age youth, are both amazed and dismayed at the new and antagonistic forces which they see unleashed. The city like the child does not respond to suggestions or commands as it formerly did. It seems to have developed a new determination as well as a new waywardness and a tendency to vacillate. It is not as well in hand as formerly. Little scientific study has been made of the city's adolescent personality, its physiology, and its psychological and social adjustments. When it is regarded from this point of view a typical pattern of adolescent development is recognizable. Certain of the changes which take place will be seen not only as inevitable but also as desirable, while others which may be deplored can be subjected to control.

The fate of the downtown church in Mediopolis is illustrative of the whole transitional period of the city's development. A church does not move out of an area on as small a provocation as does a family or a grocery store. Neither does it move for just the same reasons. Therefore, even after most of the population has deserted the center of the city and few of their members live within walking distance, the " first " churches continue to be rated as the most important religious organizations in the municipality and their members continue to come by car and bus. The long history

of the institution, its name, its traditions and the size of its building, all give it prestige. Professional people find it more advantageous to belong to this church than to a small one struggling to gain a foothold in their own community. Since the central church is able to draw its members from a wide area it can raise a larger budget, support a more active and stimulating program, pay the salary of an outstanding preacher, and by these means maintain prestige and prolong its life.

However, the time arrives when the churches in the residential areas become more firmly rooted, erect attractive buildings, and put on a stronger program; then the downtown societies begin to find it increasingly difficult to gain new members and, indeed, to hold their old ones. Long before the city reaches a population of half a million most religious organizations will have deserted the center of town, a situation deemed impossible a few decades earlier. Since the church is essentially a community institution and therefore needs to be located where people live, a reversal of this trend is exceedingly unlikely. A few downtown city-wide churches can be maintained, but they are usually dependent on the help of endowments or liberal missionary giving.

This period of change is a crucial one, not only for the church but, since these factors affect the whole of the economic, social and political life, for the rest of the city as well. Mediopolis is in transition, is undergoing metamorphosis, is leaving behind one set of traits and acquiring others.

2

Mediopolis:
The Pattern and Its Variants

CONSIDERING their number the great cities of America exercise an undue influence on the life of the nation. Considering their population they do not. There are in the United States only thirteen municipalities with a population of over half a million, and thirty-eight others with populations ranging between 150,000 and 500,000. The thirteen largest cities house one out of every six in the entire population, while the fifty-one largest include within their boundaries one out of every four. In comparison, the total of one hundred forty cities in the range of Mediopolis (50,000 to 150,000) comprises slightly under 10 per cent of the population, or one out of every eleven.

Growth and Distribution of Medium-Sized Cities

Mediopolis has shown a remarkable vitality. For the hundred and forty cities which it symbolizes the 1930 census reveals a significant growth over the preceding three decades. Between 1900 and 1920, while the nation's population was increasing by 39 per cent, the total urban population increased at twice this rate (79 per cent); but medium-sized cities showed a growth of 87 per cent. In the next decade, 1920 to 1930, while the rate of increase for the nation was 16 per cent, that of Mediopolis was 26 per cent, practically the same rate as for the total urban population. Such statistics give reliable evidence of the waxing importance of the " mediopolitan " cities in the national life. Obviously their significance today is relatively greater than a genera-

tion ago. They are noticeably robust and full of vigor, and the normal expectation for them seems to be one of continued population growth and economic development.

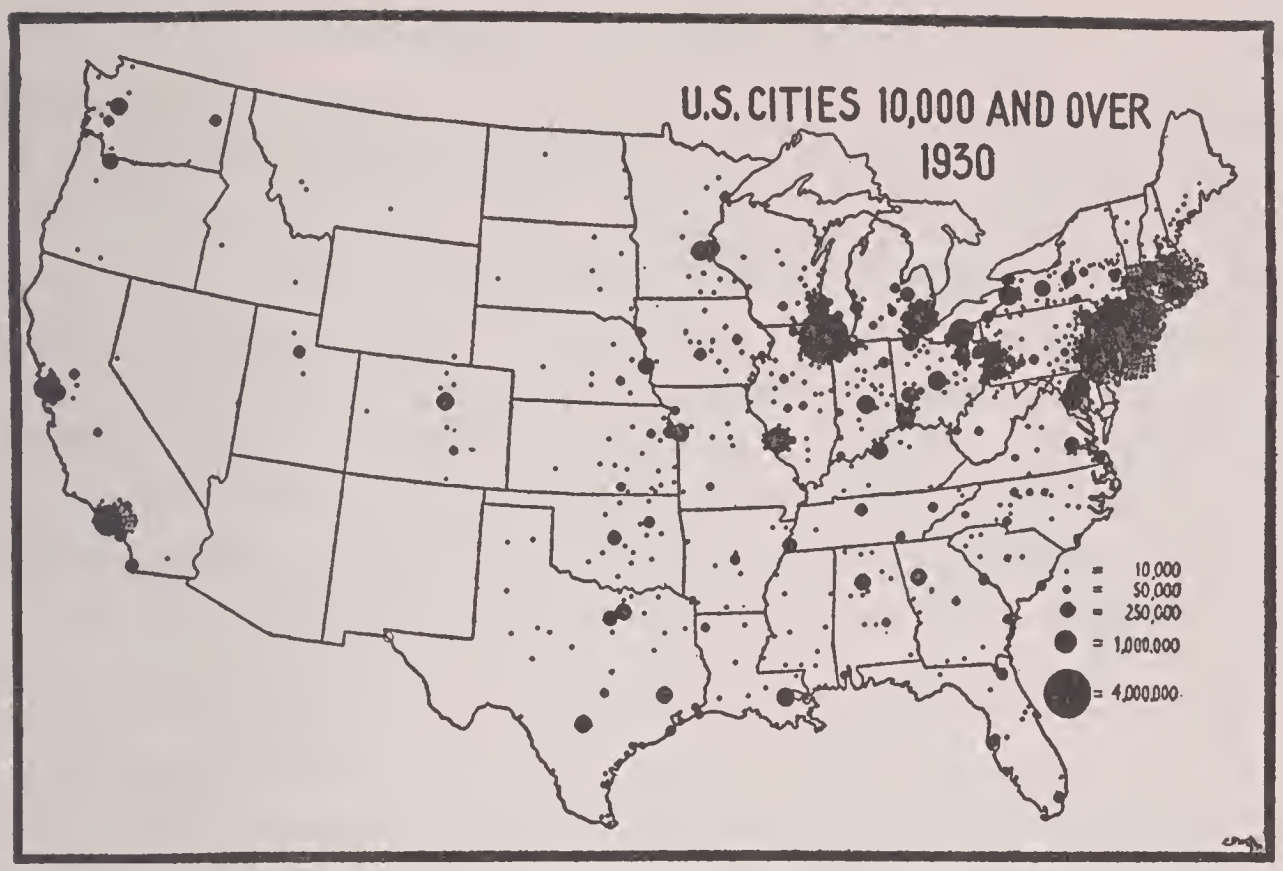
The geographic distribution of these medium-sized but important cities is worthy of attention.* Eighty-six out of the total one hundred forty are located east of the Mississippi river and north of the Mason-Dixon line. These are in the great industrial zone of America which is included roughly within a triangle drawn from Chicago to Boston to Philadelphia. In the Great Plains states west of the Mississippi and in the Rocky mountain area, cities with a population of fifty thousand or more are few indeed. This is to be expected, since the hinterland in this region is not sufficiently developed to support large urban aggregations. Farther west, in California, there is a concentration of mediopolitan cities. Some are also scattered through the southeastern states and in a belt running north and south from Sioux City and Des Moines to Austin and Galveston.

Oddly enough, there are relatively few cities of even medium size between the Blue Ridge mountains on the east and the western edges of Missouri, Arkansas, and Louisiana. A variety of factors would seem to account for this state of affairs, the chief probably being that the old-time plantation economy has not been outgrown. Because of a low standard of living on the part of the masses these states offer proportionately poorer markets per capita for the sale of materials and, conversely, afford less stimulus for the development of population centers, the simple wants of the majority of the people being cared for in the local village store.

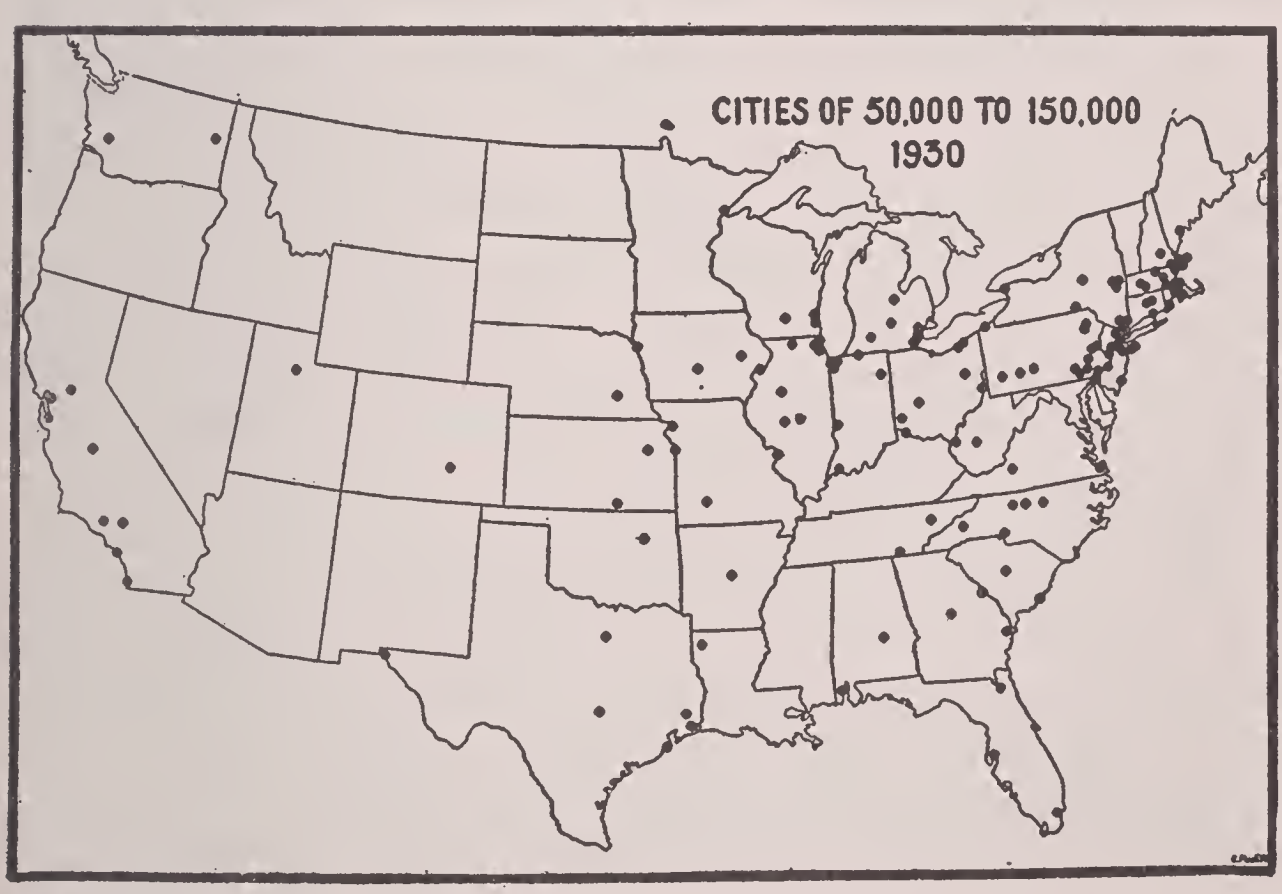
The cities in the plains states and in the south, dominating their own hinterlands as they do, naturally display a social and economic organization different from that of other urban centers of the same size which exist under the shadow — or perhaps it would be better to say, shine in the reflected light — of a great metropolis.†

* Cf. Map II.

† Note the concentration of population in the "industrial triangle" as shown on Map I.


U.S. CITIES 10,000 AND OVER
1930
= 10,000
= 50,000
= 250,000
= 1,000,000
= 4,000,000

MAP I


CITIES OF 50,000 TO 150,000
1930

MAP II

Salt Lake City is an excellent illustration of a municipality which holds undisputed sway over its entire hinterland. Throughout Utah and portions of the adjacent states the citizens look to the big city at the foot of the Wasatch as their mecca. Nor is this attitude due simply to the importance of Salt Lake City among the Latter-day Saints; it is also the trading center for the area. The products of the surrounding regions flow to it and supplies are sent out from it. It is the dominant financial and news center for the territory. It sets the educational patterns. All highways radiate from it and the tourist determines to reach it before nightfall.

Such a city may properly be considered complete, performing all of the essential urban functions. Every needed institution is found there. It has a recognizable self-sufficiency, with a full complement of social, economic and political " parts " which are integrated to a fairly satisfactory degree. It is a structure resting on its own foundation and enjoying an independence not found in other urban types.

In sharp contrast are the suburban municipalities which, even though they have as large a population, can be properly understood only when they are regarded as partial cities, politically independent perhaps, but actually dependent on the large neighboring metropolis for economic life, for social and recreational activities, and for cultural patterns. Such suburbs may be termed incomplete because many essential functions of urban life are performed for them by the great neighbor city of whose hinterland they form but a small part.

This difference in structure and in function constitutes an important preliminary consideration, for until we can understand the organization and purpose of cities, both internally and with reference to their hinterland, we can discover neither the basis out of which their social and economic problems arise nor the distinctive difficulties and perplexities confronting organized religion in them. However, before developing a classification for

these cities, it may be well to investigate the traits and trends which characterize Mediopolis.

Traits and Trends in Mediopolis

1. The most obvious trend in these hundred forty cities is population increase. Sheer numerical growth is itself a factor basic to all aspects of life in the city, influencing land values, rents, living standards, and type and size of dwelling, as well as the success of various urban institutions. This growth has been considerably more rapid than for the nation as a whole, an indication that an ever increasing proportion of the population chooses, because of the economic and cultural opportunities offered, to settle in Mediopolis.

2. With expanding population has come increasing complexity in the social and political organization of Mediopolis. It is losing its simple, unified pattern and is taking on a more elaborate and differentiated structure. It is moving, as Spencer would say, from homogeneity to heterogeneity. This change is manifest in its physical appearance. Street traffic is presenting vexing problems, the business center is expanding, and new sub-business districts are starting to compete for the downtown trade. Apartment houses, instead of being interesting exceptions, are becoming a recognized type of residential structure. To protect the more exclusive areas against the encroachment of apartment buildings and business districts, zoning ordinances are enacted. These are some of the external evidences of the growing complexity which reaches into the school system, the work of the church, the organization of politics, and the daily habits of the citizens. Old-timers are becoming aware of the fact that they no longer recognize many of the passers-by on the streets.

3. Separate communities make their appearance. Down by the river and along the railroad tracks which stretch through the lower part of the city, mills and factories are established, while around them lie the less desirable residential areas occupied by

the factory workers. Years ago there were some imposing homes in this section of town, but the expansion of industry and the influx of immigrant groups have caused the older residents to move toward the " heights."

Even within this lowland area of cheap rents and antiquated dwellings — many of which have been subdivided so that five families now live in houses designed for one — there is further differentiation. On one side of the tracks is a sizable community of Poles and Lithuanians, while on the other is the " black belt." It was here that the Negroes settled when they moved north during and following the World War. Formerly there were so few of them that the townspeople were hardly aware of their presence, or looked on them with a kindly curiosity. Now, however, they have become a " problem " in the minds of some of the city fathers. The particular races represented may differ from city to city, but always as Mediopolis comes of age one can find such working class communities, more or less self-conscious and set over against other sections of the city.

The higher land is always more desirable for residence purposes. The air is purer, there is less smoke nuisance, drainage is better, the view is superior, and living conditions are pleasanter both in summer and winter. Here is located the exclusive section of town, and when a person has a home in this vicinity he " rates."

For many people the cost of a home on the heights is prohibitive; however, they do not wish to live near what is beginning to look like a slum area, and therefore develop on the other side of town a comfortable middle class district. The college may be located in still a different section of town, and about it is another thriving and self-conscious community. Here are faculty homes, student dormitories, rooming houses, shops that cater to student trade, and residences of some of the old-timers who are now surrounded — marooned — by the incoming population.

These communities are not sharply marked off from one another except where there is an effective physical barrier, such as the railroad yards or a precipitous hillside. Ordinarily they are

separated by *interstitial areas* which serve as buffers between them. Such interstitial areas usually follow the main lines of transportation radiating from the heart of the city. Along these streets are located many of the stores patronized by people from each of the adjoining communities. Above these stores, in houses between them, and on adjacent side streets live *marginal people,* who are less class conscious, who have escaped from class or race bonds, or are not quite financially able to move into the adjoining better class district. It is the emergence of these exceedingly interesting and divergent communities, with their interstitial areas and specialized business and industrial zones, which marks off Mediopolis from smaller cities and gives it its flavor, its personality. Yet while no two mediopolitan cities are exactly alike they all are going through the painful readjustment which comes when a simple and unified organization is being replaced by another, complex and intricate.

4. It is not surprising that another characteristic of Mediopolis is diminishing civic consciousness. This is a natural result of the displacement of city loyalties by community loyalties and the growing complexity of the political and social structure. Politics becomes increasingly professionalized as the city develops. The editor of the newspaper or the owner of one of the stores on Main street no longer finds it possible to give the necessary time to serve as mayor. The volunteer fire department has long since been displaced by professional fire fighters, paid for full-time service. It is now necessary to hire directors for the department of public health, the parks and playgrounds commission, the street and building commissions. As the city grows larger the residents seem to lose some of their feeling of personal responsibility for the purity of politics. There are fewer watchdogs of the public treasury. In spite of graft and rumors of graft, reformers find it difficult to awaken civic consciousness or even to rouse it to such a point that citizens will grapple effectively with the growing problems of political administration and policy. Typical is the statement of a minister serving in an upper class

residential community in Des Moines: "Our people take little interest in civic problems. The vote in this section is less per capita than in less favored areas."

5. The establishment of new and specialized services is symptomatic of the changes which are taking place in our total political and economic life. In Mediopolis and larger cities this is particularly noteworthy, for such new services are not only less needed but also less practicable in smaller population centers. For instance, while the small city may have its public square, with the courthouse at the center, there is little need for an organized park system. The growing congestion felt in Mediopolis, however, causes socially conscious citizens to recognize the necessity for providing playgrounds and parks, with the result that a park board is established, a bond issue floated, and new persons such as a park superintendent, a recreational director, and landscape gardeners are added to the city payroll. There is a similar development in the city's public health service. Instead of the informal conferences held by the several physicians on special emergency needs which develop in a small town from time to time, one finds a regularly organized bureau of public health, with a doctor employed full time as director. He is assisted by various office technicians and chemists who inspect the water and milk supplies and give attention to the disposal of wastes, and by a corps of nurses. Not infrequently as the city grows larger he will be responsible for clinics and perhaps for a municipal hospital. Specialization likewise occurs in the legal field. The justice of the peace is replaced by a new municipal court system, "more appropriate for a city of our size."

These services and many others, such as a family welfare bureau and an employment department, offer advantages to the average citizen, but only at a price: the advantages are matched by rising taxes. But while taxes are higher in Mediopolis than in smaller cities the per capita cost of government is even greater in the large metropolis. In 1930, cities in the United States with a popu-

lation ranging from 30,000 to 50,000 had an average per capita tax of $36.97, while the corresponding figures for cities of 100,000 to 300,000 population, and for those with a population of over 500,000, were respectively $39.93 and $61.13. The citizen of Mediopolis will discover that with further growth governmental costs will rise. Consider the following figures, obtained, like those above, from the Federal Bureau of the Census. For cities of 100,000 to 300,000 the per capita cost of charities, hospitals and correctional institutions in 1935 was $3.61; for those of 300,000 to 500,000, $7.07; for those of over 500,000, $12.04. Corresponding figures for police service rise from $2.71 to $3.65 to $5.84. Further, the per capita gross debt rises from $140 to $218 to $261. Evidently the cost of the growing complexity, professionalization, and specialized services mounts as cities grow.

Discovering Differences

Further feeling of the pulse of these cities reveals that some of the hundred forty have much more vitality than others. Indeed, thirteen showed a net loss of population for the decade between 1920 and 1930; two of them, Lowell and Hoboken, suffered a decline of over 10 per cent. In striking contrast are such prodigy cities as Chattanooga, Durham, and San Diego, which doubled their population; Miami and Cleveland Heights, which tripled in size; Glendale with a fourfold growth, and Dearborn which expanded at the remarkable rate of 1939 per cent. Thirty-four out of the hundred forty cities failed to grow by as much as 10 per cent, or showed a net loss; while, oddly enough, exactly the same number boasted an increase of 50 per cent or more during the decade. Obviously these cities are not all cut from the same piece of cloth; their social and economic organizations differ widely and their future growth will not follow one prescribed pattern.

The average medium-sized city in the northeastern states is not as lusty as that in other sections of the country. Thirty of the thirty-four which failed to gain as much as 10 per cent

were located in the eastern states, which on the other hand boasted only twelve of the thirty-four that grew most rapidly. Hence it would appear that the geographic factor itself exercises some influence. The poorest showing for the decade was made by the New England textile and other light manufacturing cities (Brockton, Fall River, Holyoke, Lawrence, Lowell, Manchester, New Bedford). Conversely, those cities in the south to which manufacturers have been fleeing (Asheville, Charlotte, Durham, Greensboro) have shown a remarkable growth of 75 per cent or more. These figures would indicate that population shifts cannot be understood without consideration of the changes in the economic functioning of the cities.

When attention is turned to the cities showing most rapid growth, factors other than shifts in the textile trade will be recognized as important. In certain areas expanding industries have called thousands to factories and foundries and cities have sprung up like mushrooms. This observation applies particularly to "one-industry" towns such as Gary, Hammond, and East Chicago, which specialize in steel; Pontiac and Dearborn, in automobiles; Winston-Salem and Tampa, in tobacco; and Tulsa, Port Arthur, and Long Beach, in oil. If the whole life of the community is dependent on one industry a rapid expansion in that industry will result in a phenomenal development of the city, whereas in a center with a wide variety of industrial and commercial functions the intensive development of some of these may be counterbalanced by retrogression in others. However, the other side of the shield should also be looked at. A one-industry city may be bankrupted in short order by the disappearance of demand for its products, by a change in availability of raw materials, or by a deliberate decision on the part of factory owners to move into a new area (cf. the New England textile cities). In a serious depression, with whole populations thrown out of work, such one-industry towns as Gary and Dearborn are especially hard hit. Although a diversified city, like Des Moines,

will certainly suffer in such a period, the relative balance of its industries and trade prevents so complete a collapse as befalls one-industry towns.

Conspicuous growth has occurred in another mediopolitan type, the residential suburb. These suburbs situated on the periphery of large metropolitan centers have developed through the performance of one specialized function. Located in the more desirable areas, they have attracted to themselves people who are able to pay higher rents and wish to live in a somewhat exclusive area. They have grown far more rapidly than the metropolis itself in which the suburbanites earn a livelihood. Illustrations are Lakewood and Cleveland Heights, which are dependent on Cleveland; Oak Park and Evanston, on Chicago; Glendale and Pasadena, on Los Angeles; Irvington, Union City, Mount Vernon, and East Orange, on New York City.

The resort city displays still another pattern. San Diego, Long Beach, and Miami have expanded rapidly. The growing interest in travel and improvements in means of transportation — in the automobile and trailer no less than in the railroad train — have brought people by the tens of thousands in search of sunshine and a good time. This interest in travel is also evidence of a relatively higher general standard of living which permits longer vacations, at least for some groups, and an opportunity to retire on a moderate income at an earlier age. The growth of resort communities demonstrates the great mobility of the American public.

Classifying Medium-Sized Cities

So far no attempt has been made at a systematic classification of medium-sized cities. Enough has been said to indicate that they are not all alike. The most important indices of a city's character are not its streets or houses, its form of government, or the size of its school buildings, but the way in which its people earn their living. What functions do they perform for the sur-

rounding hinterland or the adjoining metropolis? What are their economic, their social, their religious ties? Such information is not obvious on the surface, yet it must be obtained if one is to understand the problems, the assets and liabilities of any community.

In an effort to discover whether there are any recognizable patterns or types to which cities of medium size conform, a representative group of fifty-five municipalities was chosen for preliminary study. Cities from every section of the country, which appeared to be representative of all functional types, were selected. Recourse was had to the federal census; data were assembled on nationality and racial composition, age distribution, school attendance, marital status, occupation, and similar social characteristics for each of the selected cities. Information was also assembled on religious affiliations. An analysis of these many materials made it evident that the census reports on occupational distribution were the most significant in indicating the general functions and social organization of the city.

Urban functions vary with the city's geographic position and its relation to other population groupings, and are most clearly reflected in the occupational distribution of those gainfully employed. One need not be a follower of Karl Marx to recognize the economic basis of social organization and the extent to which all aspects of the culture pattern, including religious organization, are influenced by the way people earn their living. The study of the role of the church in cities which are of similar size but perform different economic functions makes this relation abundantly clear.*

Occupational Groupings

A detailed, systematic classification of occupations has been prepared by the Bureau of the Census. The first two divisions, "Agriculture" and "Forestry and Fishing," which are grouped together in the bureau's study, have small significance for Medi-

* Compare chaps. 12, 13, and 14.

opolis since very few of its residents are employed in these fields. Where the city limits have been rapidly extended there will be a larger proportion of farmers, usually engaged in truck-gardening or horticulture. However, land values are too high to permit of the use of much ground within the city for ordinary farming purposes.

The third occupational division in the census is " Extraction of Minerals." This again is for our purposes a relatively unimportant grouping, except for an occasional city such as Tulsa or Long Beach, which have numerous oilwells, and Scranton and Wilkes-Barre, where a large percentage of the men are engaged in coal mining. Since the extractive industries involve much the same type of work as does heavy manufacturing, and since their employees are drawn from similar economic and cultural groups, the workers within this division are included with those in the manufacturing industries throughout this study.

Fourth in the official listing is " Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries." Under this head the census groups such divergent occupational types as mill and factory operators, laborers (textile, steel, etc.), and machinists. These occupations offer employment to a much larger percentage of the population in some cities than in others. Dearborn and Gary, with more than half their workers listed under this head, stand at one extreme, while Atlantic City and Evanston, with only two in ten so engaged, are at the other.

Treated as a separate class in this study, although included under mechanical industries in the census, are the " Building Trades," whose workers include carpenters, electricians, painters, and plumbers. In most cities these workers constitute about six per cent of those employed. They are tabulated separately so that the full extent and significance of the manufacturing industries may be clear for comparative purposes.

The next division is headed " Transportation and Communication " and includes those engaged in road and street work, chauffeurs and garage owners, railroad, express, telephone and tele-

graph employees, radio operators, and aviators. Here again cities of mediopolitan size show interesting variation. In most of them the number employed in these occupations ranges from 5 to 10 per cent, but there are exceptions. Altoona, for example, in which are located the Pennsylvania railroad shops, is a division point on the road, and 20 per cent of its workers are engaged in transportation.

No city can exist without trade. Under the head of "Trade" the census groups advertisers, bankers, insurance men, retailers and wholesalers, salespeople, newsboys, and undertakers. It might be assumed that two cities with equal populations would utilize the services of approximately the same number of "business people," but oddly enough this does not seem to be the case; some industrial suburbs have as few as 10 or 12 per cent of those gainfully employed so listed (Cicero, Dearborn, and Elizabeth), while some residential suburbs, like Evanston or Lakewood, have proportionately twice as many engaged in such occupations. Obviously there is an important difference among these five cities, even though each of them is adjacent to a great metropolis.

"Public Service" includes persons serving on the fire and police departments, guards, watchmen, sailors, soldiers, etc. Most cities have approximately two per cent of their population engaged in these callings. Military or naval bases naturally show a higher percentage; for example, Norfolk has 11 per cent and San Diego 13 per cent listed under this head.

"Professional Service" includes actors, architects, chemists, clergymen, dentists, lawyers, musicians, physicians and surgeons, teachers, and technical engineers, together with their attendants or helpers. Here again superficial observation might lead one to expect practical uniformity among the cities, since there are schools, churches, and theaters in each and since everyone has need on occasion of the services of dentists, doctors, and lawyers. However, there are decided contrasts. Industrial suburbs (e. g., Camden and Cicero) have only four or five per cent engaged in professional pursuits, while Cleveland Heights has almost 19 per

cent of its gainfully employed so classified. Such differences have significance for all other aspects of the community life and will certainly exert an influence on the work of the churches.

Under "Domestic and Personal Service" are listed barbers, cleaners and dyers, hotel operators, rooming house keepers, janitors, launderers, porters, waiters, and — most important of all in many communities — "domestics." If general standards of living are low, people will be financially unable to employ servants. Consequently far fewer persons earn their living in these pursuits in industrial centers than in exclusive residential and resort cities. For example, in Atlantic City one out of every three workers is so employed, while in nearby Camden the ratio is one in ten, and even this is higher than in Cicero (one in twenty). In the south, where there is a large rural colored population eager for urban employment, there are more engaged in domestic and personal service. Montgomery has 28 per cent of its working population in this division, nearly all of them Negroes, while northern cities, similar in practically every other respect, have only 12 to 14 per cent so employed.

The final division of the census report is "Clerical," and includes agents, bookkeepers, stenographers, clerks (other than in stores), and collectors. This is commonly called the "white-collar" group of occupations. There are in the United States certain white-collar suburbs, so named because a large proportion of their residents find employment in these lines of work within the adjacent metropolis. Such cities are seldom the most aristocratic but they definitely rank above the industrial suburban communities in standard of living. Lakewood, a suburb of Cleveland, 20 per cent of whose population is listed as clerical, can be compared with the more exclusive Cleveland Heights, which has 15 per cent employed in clerical work. Most cities however show fewer than 10 per cent in this classification.

Types of Mediopolis

Examination of the occupational data assembled above affords a basis for classification of all cities in our population grouping. Five types can be clearly differentiated: *

1. The " standard " city is one which dominates its own hinterland and therefore is to be distinguished from suburban or satellite centers. It may be described as a commercial city, containing within itself all the necessary functions and supplying the needs not only of its own citizens but also of those living within its sphere of influence.

2. The industrial city, while it is measurably independent of metropolitan areas and sets the patterns for its own immediate hinterland, has specialized in certain industries. This specialization has influenced its development and brought in a large number of unskilled and semi-skilled workers who are employed in its various factories and mills. Naturally a larger proportion of immigrants, first and second generation, will be found here. Because of the lower general standards of living there will be fewer persons in domestic and personal service and in professional service. The economic function, and therefore the pattern of life, in the industrial city will differ from that in the commercial center.

3. The industrial suburb is to be distinguished from the industrial city by its greater specialization in manufacturing. It has less economic independence and performs fewer of the essential functions of a city, depending for these on its larger neighbor.

4. The residential suburb is another example of specialization, possible only within a large metropolitan area. A higher proportion of its population is engaged in trade and professional service and a lower proportion in industry, than in any other urban type. It again is a partial city, although it differs greatly in its social composition from the industrial suburb.

* Cf. Appendix II, which presents the percentage of distribution of employed persons by occupations, according to urban types.

5. Yet another type of " independent " city is the highly specialized resort city. Miami and Atlantic City are two excellent illustrations. Although few in number, resort cities offer an interesting variant and present some unique problems for organized religion as well as for other cultural institutions.

On the basis of this classification twenty-seven cities,* representing each of the above types and also all geographical sections of the country, were selected as a sample for more intensive study. A detailed treatment of these cities and their characteristics is presented in the five chapters that follow.

* See Appendix I for a list of these cities, their populations in 1920 and 1930, and other demographic data.

3

The Commercial City: The Prototype of Mediopolis

AS ONE drives across the continent most of his mileage will be through the open countryside, but from time to time he finds himself, almost without warning, rolling into the outskirts of a small or large city. Frequently he is at a loss to account for its presence. Why should there be such a bustling center out in the midst of the prairie? Why was it not situated ten miles back? How is it possible for so many people to earn a living here — unless they take in each other's washing?

There are discoverable reasons for the location of any given city. These reasons, although they vary in their application to different types of cities, generally fall into two classes.

The Habitat of the Commercial City

In the first place there is a group of factors which determines the maximum agricultural and industrial development of the area (including from a hundred to five thousand or more square miles) which is destined to become the hinterland of a city. Of significance are the fertility of the soil, the nature of the vegetation, rainfall, availability of large supplies of water, transportation facilities such as navigable lakes and waterways. These furnish the basis for urban as well as rural life. Only in so far as rural dwellers are able to produce a surplus over and above what they actually consume is any urban life possible, for it is this surplus which the farmer exchanges for the products of the town. This fact not only explains the city's dependence on the

hinterland but also makes clear what is the foundation for all urban specialization.

The drought in the plains states decreased the resources of the countryside. Should such a condition continue over a period of years the inevitable result would be a decline in commercial activity, accompanied by a corresponding loss in urban population. In contrast, and yet conforming to the same principles, is the situation in the Santa Ana valley of southern California, where through man's ingenuity in providing a constant water supply an arid region has been transformed into a highly cultivated and productive fruit growing center. Here population density on the soil is high, and many cities thrive because of the steady demand for their services and products. The maximum commercial and industrial development of any given area is determined by these natural factors, by the state of man's development, his skills and inventive genius and methods of production, and by the distribution of the products of agriculture and industry.

In the second place, there are certain factors which determine the specific location of a city *within* a hinterland. After accounting for the extent of productive activity within a region, we are still faced by the question: Where will these needs be met — in a number of small cities spread at equal distances throughout the area, or in one central city with a number of subordinate small towns and villages surrounding it and mediating its influence and products to the countryside? This question also is answerable. To be sure, there are certain fortuitous elements in the selection of an urban site, such as the determination of some early pioneers that the metropolis-to-be shall be centered on their soil; the success, in the early days, of a group of men in shaping the plans of the road commissioners; or the arbitrary placement of a station or junction by the railroad. Yet such factors are minor and while they might influence the location of a city by five or ten miles, pressure groups with all their shrewdness could not make a city grow if the requisite development of the hinterland were lacking.

One village may have an advantage over its neighbors at the start because it is served by two railroads instead of one, because it is a terminal point, or because it is located where the railroad crosses a navigable river. The city of Chicago could not have developed twenty miles north of its present site, for even though the Chicago river was a poor enough stream, still it offered many possibilities for exploitation. The most important factor in determining the exact location of a city is the set of influences which give a site advantages over its competitors in contacting and therefore serving surrounding communities. More farmers drive to a town that has good roads than to one reached only by poor roads. The increased trade brought by better transportation facilities not only makes possible the development of larger and more attractive stores but also augments the city's influence and political power. In the days of transportation by buckboard a farmer could not go to a town more than ten miles away if he wished to make the round trip in half a day. Now such a trip can be made in an hour; and naturally the farmer and particularly his young people do not hesitate to drive fifty or a hundred miles to get to a "real city." The widespread use of the automobile, then, has increased the dominance of the city at the expense of smaller surrounding towns.

These factors which condition the size, rate of growth, and sphere of influence of a city are especially significant for the "commercial" town standing supreme in its hinterland. Other complicating elements, such as the introduction of intense industrial activity or the proximity of a metropolis, will be discussed in subsequent chapters. The cities here under consideration represent the more fundamental type. They are "natural" aggregations of the sort which from time immemorial have grown out of man's varied associations; they are the direct expression of the economic and social life of one particular region whose culture they dominate and on whose activities they almost literally subsist.

A good illustration of the commercial city is El Paso, free as it is from competition with other cities of similar or larger size, the nearest, Austin, being approximately four hundred miles distant. The undisputed control which El Paso enjoys over so large an area would be impossible in a more fertile region. Des Moines, which is not more than one hundred twenty-five miles from Omaha, and which thus serves a more restricted area, is larger than El Paso and has at least equal prospects for future growth, because while the hinterland is smaller its fertility and consequently its population density are greater; a larger city can therefore be supported. Des Moines as definitely dominates the state of Iowa as El Paso does western Texas, New Mexico, and southern Arizona. However, cities the size of Mediopolis cannot dominate when they are within fifty miles of New York City or Philadelphia, for in that case they themselves become satellites swinging about a larger sun.

In the present chapter attention will be confined to the commercial city which, directly dependent on its hinterland, has a gradual and not a spasmodic growth, developing in the same tempo as the surrounding areas which are in turn dependent on it. The city, serving the primary needs of such an area, experiences a more symmetrical development of its business and industrial life. The wide variety of demands made upon it prevents its becoming a one-industry town.

This close relationship between the commercial city and its surrounding territory is also a result of the fact that the population of the urban center has been drawn from the region which it serves. All cities are dependent for their expansion on the influx of people either from abroad or from farms and towns. Few owe their growth to natural increase (excess of births over deaths within the city).

While the great metropolis draws people from the entire nation as well as from other lands, and while the industrial cities have grown by immigration from Europe, from the rural south or from

Mexico, and suburbs have developed chiefly at the expense of the neighboring metropolis, the commercial city alone has emerged out of its own region. Its people are the children of its own hinterland, so that the two are tied together not only by trade but also by blood. The commercial city, in a word, is the ecological epitome of the living standards, traditions, attitudes, and aspirations of the people within its radius.

Tentacles of the Town

Assuming the absence of all physical barriers, a city would develop symmetrically, reaching out at about the same rate in all directions. It would form something of a star shaped pattern, development being most rapid along the main highways radiating like spokes from a hub, least rapid in the sections between such roads. Actually, physical barriers of one type or another are almost always present. The city may be located on a lake or ocean shore, as are Atlantic City, Norfolk, and New Bedford. In this case there can be no development in the one direction. Gary, restricted by the lake to the north, is compelled to expand to the east, west, and south, achieving one-half of the star pattern. Or a city may be hemmed in, as is Duluth between high hills and Lake Superior. Such a configuration makes for a string-like development of the town. Duluth extends twenty-three miles from southwest to northeast, but for the most part only two miles in the opposite direction. If a city is located on a bluff along a river bank and the other side of the stream is low and swampy, development will move back from the river to the high land, leaving the lower area for factories and inferior dwelling districts or for desultory farming. Montgomery is a case in point.* A city such as Evansville, situated on the bank of a very broad river, naturally will not expand to the opposite bank. Or again, an international boundary may influence the development, as in El Paso or Niagara Falls. While another community may be established across the frontier and there will be much com-

* See p. 51.

ing and going, yet because of international trade regulations and, in some cases, difference in language and traditions, expansion will be warped by the border barrier.

The factors mentioned thus far will shape the city's pattern and to a considerable extent that of the hinterland. However, there are other types of barriers which, though they do not affect the city directly, shape the hinterland. A mountain barrier ten or fifty miles away from a city (Salt Lake City) will limit development in that direction and skew the trade area. The sphere of influence is also limited by the proximity of a larger city. Lincoln is about fifty miles southwest of Omaha; consequently, while the pressure of Omaha from the northeast is felt at its very doors, its own sphere of influence stretches far out to the west and south. In similar manner people living in towns and rural areas east of Stockton look to that city, but those to the west look to Oakland and San Francisco. Manchester and Boston afford another illustration of the influence of a large city in shaping the trade area of a smaller one. Suburbs, on the other hand, can scarcely be said to exert any pull; adjoining the metropolis as they do, their influence is incorporated into the general prestige and dominance of the major center. For example, such cities as Evanston, Lakewood, or Mount Vernon cannot support a newspaper of the caliber of the *Des Moines Register and Tribune;* their residents prefer to read the metropolitan dailies.

There was a time in America when rivers and canals were of predominant importance because most of the trade was carried on via the water route. Then came the railroads and, more recently, paved highways and airlines. In the present era railroads and automobile routes are of maximum commercial significance. As a general rule, the more important the city the better the railroad service. Chicago, the railroad center of the nation, is served by thirty-two different lines. Cities of the size of Mediopolis must also be taken into account by railroad lines. In fact, one interesting feature of American economic development is the mutual aid which cities and railroads have given one an-

other in their common growth. Fifty or eighty years ago railroad lines were laid to serve the population centers, and with their appearance the cities grew more rapidly, becoming an important source of revenue for the lines. Montgomery is served by six main line railways, as are Wichita and Salt Lake City; Des Moines has nine. Apparently — excluding for the moment the suburbs of the great metropolitan areas — no city can attain to a population of a hundred thousand without extensive railroad service.

Within the past ten years the paved highway has offered severe competition to the railroad, and cities eager to maintain or extend their contacts with the surrounding region have spent large sums of money and persuaded state governments to invest even more for the building of arterial highways. The more effectively this is done the more closely are the surrounding towns linked to the major city.

An interesting conception of the city's influence over its hinterland can be gained if one drives out from its central business district fifty miles or so into the country and notices the boxes for the distribution of the city's newspapers. Near the municipal boundary practically every householder has such a box in front of his home. Ten miles farther out perhaps only a fourth of the homes will have them, and as one drives on they rapidly thin out. People who read the city's papers are aware not only of its opinions but also of its bargains. They are potential patrons, and most of them go directly to town to make their more important purchases, especially if the desired item is subject to fashion.

The influence of Des Moines on its hinterland can be effectively demonstrated by an analysis of the circulation of the daily and Sunday editions of the *Des Moines Register and Tribune*. There are ninety-nine counties in the state of Iowa. In seventy-four of these the *Daily Register and Tribune* has a coverage of 20 per cent or over, the heaviest coverage being in the central part of

the state where the influence of other large cities is least felt. The eastern counties are served by Dubuque, Davenport, Cedar Rapids, and Burlington; the western, by Omaha, Council Bluffs, and Sioux City, and in these territories the influence of Des Moines is naturally less. The *Sunday Register* covers every county in the state by 20 per cent or more, except for four in the southwest corner which are under the sway of Omaha. These figures indicate the extent of Des Moines' trade area.

The hinterland's relationship to the dominant city is best seen in the trade which is carried on between them. There is a close connection between the purchasing power of an area and the size of its city. The retailers of subordinate communities look to the wholesalers of Mediopolis for their stocks of goods and ideas. Local bankers do their rediscounting through the larger banks which only a sizable city can support. Small-town insurance men report to their divisional office in the city, and dentists, physicians and teachers hold their district conferences there. The styles for the coming season are mediated from Paris and New York City through the big department stores of Mediopolis. Every expansion of business in the smaller towns and cities is reflected in a spurt of commercial activity in this important center. Such a city is a register, a barometer, of economic conditions among its smaller neighbors; it prospers as they do, or suffers when a depression hits them.

The development of the chain store is bringing the larger city into the smaller town. Not only grocery but department store chains, such as those owned by the J. C. Penny and F. W. Woolworth companies, are finding it advisable to bring their goods closer to the ultimate consumer. Even the large mail-order houses are establishing outlet stores in cities of ten thousand and less. On the surface this movement would seem to run counter to the city's trend toward concentration and consolidation and might be termed a dispersion of its functions and culture. But as a matter of fact even where such stores are established in the local

communities the regional office, with its financial control, its warehouses, and its administrative supervisor, remains in the large city or metropolis.

The small town or rural community can satisfy the social and recreational needs of its people more adequately than their economic wants. Persons living within ten or even twenty-five miles of the large city will go there occasionally to patronize a theater or a cabaret or, more rarely, to attend church or hear a lecture. But such activity does not represent membership in any organization, neither does it foster intimate friendships. At most, a city meets directly only a few of the social and intellectual needs of its hinterland; nevertheless it does set many patterns which influence the cultural and political life of the local communities which surround it. Teachers, for example, return from an inspection tour of the city's schools to put new educational theories into practice in their own classrooms. Noted ministers of Mediopolis' churches are in demand as after-dinner speakers, and their advice is sought on the improvement of local church programs. In these respects, as in the case of newspaper circulation, the influence of Mediopolis varies in inverse ratio to the distance traveled from it.

Occupational Diversity in Mediopolis

Every city of one hundred thousand population will show astonishing diversity in its occupational life. There will certainly be tradespeople, insurance agents, skilled and unskilled laborers, technicians, public employees, and persons engaged in professional or domestic work. Cities exist to perform such specialized services. Medium-sized municipalities, however, in their concentration in certain occupational fields present surprising contrasts to one another. Scranton, because of the great coal veins near by, has over 20 per cent of its working population engaged in mining. Norfolk, an important naval base, has 11 per cent of its population employed in " public service," most of them in the United States Navy. Gary's big industry is steel, and prac-

tically 60 per cent of its working population is engaged in manufacturing and mechanical trades. Once more, the commercial city can be termed the norm. It stands in a position midway between industrial cities and suburbs on the one hand and residential suburbs and resort cities on the other, a fact which the occupational data in this and subsequent chapters make abundantly clear.

However, commercial cities vary among themselves. Climate may be an important factor. El Paso, which boasts of three hundred thirty sunny days in the average year, claims to be a health resort; Duluth does not. Such differences influence the advertising of the chamber of commerce, but, more important, they shape the life of the city and the occupational distribution. Des Moines, which is a state capital, has a larger proportion of persons employed in clerical or white-collar jobs than Rockford, which is simply a county seat town. Some cities, because of their history and geographic position, have an unusually large proportion of Negroes or persons of some other race or nationality. This is in part both the result and the cause of the type of production, occupational distribution, and living standards of the municipality. For instance, 45 per cent of the population in Montgomery is colored. Because of the economic position of the Negro, his labor can be secured at lower cost, and even families with modest incomes can afford hired help. A sizable proportion of all those gainfully employed in the city (three out of ten) are engaged in domestic service; nearly all of these are Negro women.

A study of the work patterns within a city offers one of the best keys to an understanding of its economic life and characteristics. Subsequent chapters will show the importance of this information in understanding the social and cultural life and in interpreting and solving problems of organized religion.

Occupational Distribution in Commercial Cities

Table I presents the occupational distribution of those gainfully employed in six typical commercial cities, chosen both because they dominate the outlying regions and because they are geographically representative of the country. Agriculture and forestry are of little significance in the occupational structure of these cities, the slight variance in percentage being due to such fortuitous factors as the inclusion of a definitely rural area within the municipal boundaries. The building trades employ about the same proportion of workers in each city. Wichita, which has developed rapidly in the past decade, naturally has given employment to a few more builders.

Of greater importance are the manufacturing and mechanical industries (the extractive are of minor significance in commercial centers). Even in the commercial city these industries make up a major occupational division; nor is this surprising, as any city the size of Mediopolis, served by the transportation facilities which have made its growth possible, will contain a number of manufacturing establishments, most of them small, and will tend to attract additional factories. Since few commercial cities of this size are located in the densely populated northern and eastern sections of the country — the chief market for most products — only rarely does any large-scale manufacturing take place in them. When a mammoth industry enters a community, such as oil refining in Tulsa or automobile manufacturing in Pontiac, the nature of the city is changed and it loses its definitely commercial aspect. A comparison of industrial with commercial cities in the following chapter will demonstrate this point.

In every city transportation and communication furnish jobs for at least 5 to 10 per cent of the workers. The six sample cities here treated show little variation under this heading, except Duluth, which because of its terminal position at the head of Lake Superior naturally engages more persons in transportation.

Apart from manufacturing, more people in these cities earn

TABLE I

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION IN COMMERCIAL CITIES

By Per Cent

Occupation	Des Moines	Duluth	El Paso	Montgomery	Salt Lake City	Wichita
Agriculture & Forestry	1.3	2.9	1.5	2.1	1.7	1.3
Building	5.6	5.5	6.7	6.0	6.2	7.8
Manufacturing, Mechanical & Extraction	22.9	24.8	23.2	18.2	20.4	21.4
Transportation & Communication	8.9	13.5	10.8	10.7	10.5	8.6
Trade	21.2	16.6	19.2	17.1	20.2	23.5
Public Service	1.9	2.3	2.5	2.2	3.3	1.5
Professional Service	9.4	8.4	8.3	6.9	10.5	9.0
Domestic & Personal Service	11.9	12.2	17.8	28.8	12.1	14.5
Clerical	16.9	13.7	10.0	8.7	15.0	12.4
Total	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0
Per cent of gainfully employed who are females	29.5	25.0	28.0	37.2	25.3	27.3

their living through trade, buying and selling, than in any other type of work. Approximately one person in five is so employed, as against a ratio of one in eight for the United States as a whole. The lower percentage under trade for Duluth is again due to its geographic position. Situated on the lake, with unsettled country to the north and a sparse population round about, its trade area is less well developed. Were it not for its importance as a transportation center Duluth would certainly be much smaller.

In commercial cities, public service accounts for about two per cent of those gainfully employed. The only striking variation is to be found in Salt Lake City, where the presence of a fort, in which in 1930 some eight hundred men were stationed, raised the figure to three per cent.

With the one exception of Montgomery, there is an appreciable uniformity in the number of men and women engaged in professional service in these cities. Here the smaller use of professional services, as indicated by the census, is accompanied by wage rates which are definitely lower than in the other sample cities. This is a bias due in part to the large Negro population which has a lower average standard of living, and this in turn increases the number of persons seeking employment as domestic workers. When income and living standards are lower for a whole population group there is less demand for teachers, doctors, dentists, and other professional persons.

In the consideration of the next occupational division, domestic and personal service, it is advisable to give attention to the percentage of women gainfully employed. In Duluth and Salt Lake City one out of every four paid workers is a woman. In Montgomery the ratio is more than one in three, an increase accounted for by the large number of Negro women in domestic service. Indeed eight thousand out of the total of eleven thousand five hundred women gainfully employed are Negroes, practically all of them in domestic service. In other cities wages for such

service are appreciably higher than in Montgomery and consequently fewer female servants are hired. The fact explains the high percentage (28.8 per cent) of workers listed under this classification in Montgomery in comparison with other cities. The situation in El Paso is much the same except for the fact that the cheap labor is now supplied by Mexicans (57 per cent of the population) instead of Negroes. Des Moines follows Montgomery in respect to the proportion of women it employs; however, the reason for its doing so is quite different. Des Moines, a state capital, affords many opportunities for women workers in its governmental boards and bureaus as well as in its schools. Here over six thousand women are employed in clerical occupations as compared with one thousand in Montgomery; on the other hand, in Des Moines forty-five hundred women are employed in domestic service, while the figure for Montgomery, a much smaller city, is seven thousand.

While occupational data are illuminating in a study of the status, characteristics, and problems of a city, one should not conclude that such information tells the whole story. Other questions must also be asked. What is the historical background of the city? Whence do the people come? Have nationality and race influenced the culture of the city? What about its vital statistics, birth and death rates, age and sex distribution? Are educational standards high? What is the marriage rate? Is it a city of homes or are there many transients?

While commercial cities are similar in many respects each has its own distinctive characteristics, which are due in part to its location. Montgomery, a southern city with a large Negro population, will naturally be quite different in its occupational organization from Duluth, many of whose people have a Scandinavian background. Differences in the cultural life of these cities will be even more marked; for example, the Lutheran and Catholic churches which dominate the religious life of Minnesota play only a very subordinate role in Montgomery. These cultural and so-

cial differences can best be presented by means of brief word pictures of the histories and cultural backgrounds of a few commercial cities.

A City of the Western Plains

Out on the vast prairie, where less than a century ago Indians and buffalo held undisputed sway, there is today an active, bustling city of 111,110 inhabitants, self-conscious, eager and energetic. These, the immediate descendants of the pioneers, are not yet so old or so sophisticated as to have lost the buoyancy and enthusiasm of their fathers.

The site of Wichita, just below the juncture of the Big and Little Arkansas rivers, was a natural stopping place for the cross-country migrants of the nineteenth century. Before the white man came an Indian village stood at this point; later an Indian trading post with a meager supply of staples was opened for the few trappers and courageous travelers who passed by. Wichita became the terminus of the famous Chisholm Trail, along which Texas cattlemen drove their herds. In 1870 the village was formally organized and by 1880 it had a population of five thousand persons. As civilization pushed farther and farther west, this great farming and cattle raising area in the geographical center of the nation attracted many a pioneer, who staked his claim here. As the prairies were settled Wichita grew, meeting the increasing demands of a multiplying rural population.

Wichita has always been closely tied to the soil, and is today still keenly aware that its prosperity depends upon the well-being of its hinterland. One of its most important industries is milling; hard wheat, which became so essential a product during and after the World War, has made Wichita — and the whole state of Kansas — one of the leading interior grain markets of the country. Assembling plants and outlets for farm implement companies, another industry dependent on agriculture, provide employment for many workers. Wichita is an important shipping point for cattle and other livestock, and also has a meat packing and processing

industry of its own, evidence that cattle raising is a specialty of the area. The discovery of oil, one of Kansas' richest natural resources, and the process of exploiting it, have attracted oil well equipment companies. However, of all its industries Wichita takes chief pride in the expansion of aircraft manufacture, for which it claims to be the most important center in the United States. Approximately 21 per cent of the employed Wichitans are engaged in manufacturing, much of which is directly related to the needs of the hinterland. Over 23 per cent of its workers are employed in trade, an indication of the importance of the city as a commercial center for the territory.

With no closer rivals than Tulsa, Topeka, and Kansas City to the east, and a clear field to the west as far as Pueblo and Denver, Wichita is an urban oasis in a dry and somewhat monotonous landscape. With no natural physical barriers except the river, its development has been almost symmetrical. Railroad lines (six of them serve the city) have entered from all directions, cutting through at various angles. These and the Wichita Drainage Canal divide the communities within the city. Advantage has been taken of the river and other beauty spots of the area in the planning of parks, boulevards, and recreation grounds.

Wichita's population, as is typical of the commercial city, has been drawn from the region round about; as a consequence, in 1930, practically 92 per cent were native whites, an extraordinarily homogeneous population. Negroes composed five per cent, while the remaining three per cent were foreign-born. The first and second generation immigrants are almost entirely of northern European stock. With this information in mind, it is not surprising to learn that school attendance is high, 68 per cent of those sixteen and seventeen years of age and 33 per cent of those eighteen to twenty being in school; the illiteracy rate is less than one per cent. In the matter of religious organization Wichita, like its hinterland, is predominantly Protestant, although it may surprise the average layman to learn that over half the " adult " population (over thirteen years of age) is unaffiliated with any

church. The Methodist family of churches,* with twenty-one congregations, numbers 10 per cent of the adult population in its membership, while the Baptist, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic denominations each number five per cent. Other communions are represented by smaller percentages.

Drought and depression have struck Kansas and the plains territory with particular force in the past decade. The farmer's lowered purchasing power has been felt not only by village merchants, but also by the big wholesale houses in Wichita and directly or indirectly by practically the entire urban population. An active chamber of commerce in this city has helped to keep businessmen aware of their dependence upon the hinterland; and with the return of prosperity in 1935 it resumed its annual " good will tour " throughout the territory. A hundred and twenty-five men participate, visiting towns and villages, renewing contacts and gaining new customers. This is a concrete expression and recognition of a relationship which, because of geographic proximity, population homogeneity, and similarity of tradition and background, has existed between Wichita and its hinterland for half a century.

A City of the Old South

Montgomery, the capital of Alabama, centrally located in the state on a high bluff above the Alabama river, enshrines much of the history and the culture pattern of the Old South. It was the " First Capital of the Confederacy " where Jefferson Davis was sworn in as president in the troublous days of 1861. Montgomery's citizens still look upon that period in its history with much enthusiasm and affection. However, many changes separate the thriving city of today with a population of 66,079, from the town of 1860 with its population of 8,843. Railroads have converged in Montgomery and with them have come industries: railroad repair shops, furniture and food factories, and textile and other industries which have been built about cotton, seeds as well

* Cf. footnote on p. 143.

as fibers. Commercial expansion has kept pace with the increase in manufacturing.

The symmetrical development of Montgomery has been prevented by the configuration of the land. Situated on the south bank of the river just below a great bend, it has developed on three sides, following the higher ground. To the northeast lie the industrial areas, the railroad yards and the poorer dwellings. On the rolling terrain to the east, south, and west are the expanding residential areas of the city. To the north and west urban development has been hindered by a low swampy area which is frequently flooded.

Like other cities of the south Montgomery possesses a number of social and economic traits which set it apart from cities in other sections of the United States. These traits have their primary root in the distinctive population composition of the southern states. For example, only one per cent of the persons living in Montgomery in 1930 were foreign-born. This low percentage, typical of southern cities, is explicable. The rapidly expanding industries of the north offered the best work opportunities for immigrants, who also entered via northern ports; further, the immigrant, even though his standard of living was low, could not successfully underbid the Negro in southern cities. The first and second generation immigrant groups play much the same role in northern cities as Negroes do in southern. They do the less skilled, menial, and poorly paid work. Even when Negroes are engaged in the " better " occupations the rate of pay is relatively low. A recent study of the salaries of Negro teachers in the schools of Alabama showed an average of $351 per annum, and for elementary schoolteachers $307. Another study indicated that the average for all elementary and secondary schoolteachers in the United States was $1227. Such differences in rates of pay are reflected in all phases of the economic structure. For example, when the pay for teachers is low, it is not surprising to find farm laborers earning only ninety cents per day without board and unskilled male laborers employed on city street work averaging

twenty-three cents an hour. Since wages are small and also because the traditions of the south set the pattern, a large proportion of the whites find it financially possible and socially desirable to employ Negro servants. In Montgomery 29 per cent of all employed workers are engaged in domestic and personal service, all but three hundred of the sixty-eight hundred so occupied being Negroes. This is twice the proportion similarly employed in northern and western cities of the same size and type.

The unusually large female population in Montgomery (86 males to 100 females) is accounted for by the large number of Negro women who have come to the city to secure work as domestic servants. Indeed one may say that Montgomery is two cities, not one. There is the white city which owns and controls; dependent on it is the Negro city, almost equal in population but definitely subordinate and supplementary. The employers are whites; the colored are nearly all employees. The latter are less educated (white illiteracy, 0.4 per cent; colored, 19.9 per cent) and more poorly paid. Largely because of the low economic status of the Negro and the meager facilities for advanced educational training, relatively few Negro children beyond the age of fifteen are found in school. Taking both white and colored populations into account, 22.4 per cent of the young people from eighteen to twenty years of age attend school. While this is a higher percentage than that prevailing in a number of other cities (El Paso, 21 per cent) and in the United States as a whole (21.4 per cent), it falls considerably below that of most cities of this size.* Such figures are significant since they not only reflect present economic and cultural standards but also serve to forecast the ability of young people to compete in the highly exacting years which lie ahead.

These data all tend to confirm the conclusion that Montgomery is a typical city of the south, shaping the economic and cultural life of its hinterland as do most commercial cities, and itself in turn being influenced by the lower income and living standards

* Cf. Appendix I.

of the colored and white population in the surrounding territory. However, it is not unlikely that the southward movement of manufacturing brought about by the low wage and tax rates, and the consequent industrialization of the south, will in time alter the present situation.

A City of the North

Far to the north of Montgomery, at the extreme western end of Lake Superior, lies Duluth, stretching in a narrow band from southwest to northeast. The main business streets run parallel to the lake shore and are on comparatively flat ground. Back of them the city rises precipitately to higher and higher levels, like a town on a Swiss lake. So steep is this long bluff that residents on the upper streets are glad to make use of a cable car to ascend it. Residential property on these heights is at a premium, for here the smoke and noise of the busy industrial districts and the harbor are not in evidence. Those with lower incomes must content themselves with houses in the basin or across the St. Louis river in the town of Superior, which is just within the Wisconsin state line.

Superior is as flat as Duluth is hilly. While Duluth is the chief city, the railroad yards and many persons engaged in transportation are found in Superior. In fact, over a third of the men in the latter city earn their living in transportation and communication. Over one-eighth of the employed persons (one-sixth of the employed men) in Duluth also engage in these occupations. In considerable measure both Duluth and Superior owe their prosperity to their strategic positions as terminal points for navigation and the railroad. The great quantities of iron ore which are shipped through Duluth make it one of the busiest inland ports in North America (second in traffic on the continent).

There is only a sparse population scattered through northern Minnesota and Wisconsin, and in the Canadian territory to the north of eastern Minnesota there has been practically no development. For this reason Duluth, while it has an extensive trade

area, can buy and sell less with its hinterland than, for example, Evansville, or many a city of this size. There will, however, be an increasing amount of trade as this region is further developed. Even now there are within the trade area of Duluth over four hundred thousand people in the state of Minnesota alone, and a large portion of Wisconsin, including Superior, also defers to it. This sphere of influence is well marked off by the newspaper coverage. According to the circulation manager of the Duluth *Herald-News Tribune,* the two editions of this paper have a blanket coverage extending about seventy miles south of Duluth, two hundred and fifty miles west, and as far to the north as settlements are found. The circulation of newspapers to the south is hindered by Minneapolis and St. Paul. These cities, two hundred miles to the south and of greater size and prestige, reach much more than half-way to Duluth in their influence.

Northern Wisconsin and Minnesota were first settled by immigrants from northern Europe of German and Scandinavian stock. Even today Duluth, with a population of 101,463, numbers almost 30,000 born in the Scandinavian countries or of parents who emigrated from them; an additional 6,000 are of Finnish, and 5,000 of German parentage. Relatively few of the population come from southern or central European countries. Canada has contributed over 10,000 residents, a third of whom are French Canadians. In 1930 there were only 400 Negroes in the entire city. Duluth stands almost at the other extreme from Montgomery not only in nationality and racial composition, but also in cultural and religious patterns. However, each one epitomizes the culture of its area; Duluth is no more Scandinavian than its hinterland.

As is the case with many cities in the north, particularly those which have a large foreign population (in Duluth 25,000 are foreign-born and 45,000 of foreign parentage) there are more men than women. This difference in sex distribution is particularly marked in the age range of thirty-five to sixty, since this group includes most of those who have come from abroad.

The illiteracy rate in 1930 was only 1.2 per cent (in 1920 it was 2.4 per cent), while the rate for native whites is only 0.2 per cent. The people of Duluth believe in the value of education. More than two-thirds of the youth of the city, sixteen and seventeen years of age, are in school, and almost one-third of those between eighteen and twenty attend high school or college. This is a very respectable showing; in another twenty years the foreign culture patterns which are still quite evident will practically have disappeared. This impending development, caused by changes in immigration laws and rates, will undoubtedly present new problems and opportunities for the various churches of the city.

Conclusion

Every city, like every human being, has a personality all its own. No two are exactly alike; yet there are striking similarities. These may be due to the fact that the cities perform comparable functions, each within its own hinterland; or that they are located in the same region and therefore share the same culture pattern, racial distribution, and economic opportunities. Commercial cities, southern or northern, have more in common than have cities of different functional types within the same area. As has been indicated above they are found chiefly in the central, southern, and western portions of the United States. In the northeast, urban centers of mediopolitan size, due to the proximity of larger municipalities, undergo such specialization that they are generally more properly classed in other functional categories.

Sketches of three cities showing important differences in characteristics have been presented. Yet in spite of their contrasts they are essentially alike. The city of Duluth, with its large percentage of foreign-born citizens and its dependency on transportation, especially of iron ore, is presented as a variant of the type. It deviates somewhat more widely from the norm than do such cities as Des Moines, Montgomery, Portland (Maine), Salt Lake City, Sacramento, and Wichita. The commercial city is the prototype for Mediopolis. It has a relatively homogeneous popu-

lation, practically all of which comes from its own sphere of influence. It possesses a broad economic base, involving a considerable commercial development, the outgrowth of trade with a large or rich hinterland. Although it benefits by some manufacturing and transportation activities it differs greatly in this respect from the industrial city, where these occupations are of major importance. Diversification in economic activity gives the commercial city great stability; and while it will probably not become a boom town, neither will it be the center of acute depression.

4

The Industrial City: Mediopolis in Overalls

THE SIMILARITIES of industrial and commercial cities are more evident than their differences. Yet these differences suffice to make the industrial city a distinct type. The industrial cities of Port Arthur and Binghamton, like the commercial cities of Des Moines and Duluth, have their own hinterlands. Not one of them is dominated by a great metropolis, and yet the patterns of their development differ radically. The occupational distribution of citizens in the one pair of cities stands in noticeable contrast to that in the other. Commercial cities support more professional persons and maintain, on the whole, higher standards of living than industrial cities. More of their children continue their education through high school and college. There is likewise a contrast in the nationality of the citizenry, with resultant differences in cultural and religious loyalties. In short, every aspect of life seems to reflect this interesting contrast in urban patterns.

An industrial city may be thought of as one in which the manufacturing industries and mechanical trades play a dominant role in the workaday life of the people. Since the rest of man's life cannot be divorced from the way in which he earns a living, we may expect to find that other aspects of political, social and even religious organization are profoundly influenced by the primacy of industry over commerce. The industrial city tends to draw to itself a different type of people; this in turn influences the re-

ligious as well as the recreational patterns. Whereas commercial cities generally employ one-fifth of their workers in manufacturing and allied occupations, industrial cities engage from one-third to two-fifths. There are corresponding differences in trade, clerical work, and professional and domestic service. Before examining the influence of the factory and mill in setting social patterns, it may be advisable to point out that there are three varieties of the industrial city.

1. As used in this study, the term " industrial city " designates those urban centers which have one-third or more of their employed citizens engaged in industry, and which, because of their location, are relatively free from the dominance of a large metropolis. They also have many traits in common with commercial cities: they are masters of their own trade areas and enjoy the political and cultural freedom upon which the commercial municipality prides itself. These form the subject of the present chapter.

2. The second type of city, the industrial suburb, which devotes itself primarily to manufacturing and mechanical and allied pursuits, lies adjacent or very close to some great urban center; in it the traits which mark off the industrial from the commercial city are still further accentuated (see chapter 5).

3. Between these two varieties is the industrial satellite city, which though too far from the metropolis to be called a suburb (twenty to fifty miles) yet lies close enough to be within its orbit. Its economic life and organization, while showing greater independence than that of the suburb, are nevertheless under metropolitan dominance. This is as true of the cultural as it is of the economic life. While less dependent than the suburb, it enjoys little " sovereignty " even over the regions round about it. In reality, it is itself part of the hinterland of the great center.

Why the Industrial City?

The question will be asked, Why is industry drawn to some locations more than to others? No single answer can give an

adequate explanation, for different factors are at work in different communities. The cities which are here considered would be in existence even if industry were of minor importance, precisely because they have hinterlands of their own which supply the basis for a considerable commercial development; but, with smaller hinterlands than most commercial cities, their populations would likewise be decidedly diminished if one-half of their manufacturing activity were eliminated. The industrial city, as above defined, is essentially a small commercial city, plus additional industrial activity, which has increased its size and altered the nature of its influence.

Perhaps the most obvious reason for this increment of industrial activity is the presence of natural resources. Scranton owes its growth to its rich anthracite coal deposits, some of which are within the municipal boundaries. Many of the New England textile cities were built near the falls in a river, where water power was available to operate the machinery, and were well established before the nature and uses of electricity were understood. To many persons Niagara Falls spells honeymoon and romance; actually, it is an important manufacturing city, one-half of whose workers are engaged in chemical and allied industries or in other types of production made possible by the cheap and unlimited supply of electrical power generated near by. Oil, the black liquid gold of the south and the west, has converted many a small town into a thriving city; Tulsa is an illustration. Port Arthur on the Gulf of Mexico affords an excellent terminus for the pipe-lines which bring oil from the Texas fields to tidewater; this city has built up a mammoth chemical industry on the basis of the refining and processing of oil.

The second reason for the unusual growth of industries is the presence of rich resources, not in the immediate vicinity but in the hinterland. Tacoma benefits by the vast timbered regions to the east and in the Olympian peninsula. These furnish the basis for its lumber and furniture industries and account for much of its transportation business. Winston-Salem lies at the heart of a rich

tobacco growing region. The small planters bring in their leaf tobacco and here sell it to the buyers of the big corporations.

A third reason for the development of industries in a particular locality may be lower labor costs, which in one sense can be thought of as a resource of the hinterland. The densely populated rural areas of the southeastern states, where living standards are low, constitute a " resource " for manufacturers of the north who have sought to avoid high labor costs and union organization. Indeed, certain southern cities have advertised that corporations could find there not only excellent sites but also low labor costs and workers who were unorganized and " American." However, even before such appeals were made, industrialists had begun to move their plants from the northeast to the south. Low labor costs, plus the advantage of being near the source of cotton supply, account for the fact that the number of active spindles in the south has increased from thirteen to eighteen million between 1917 and 1937, while in the New England states the number declined from seventeen to six million. Further, the spindles in the cotton states are in operation 40 per cent more hours per month than in the north.

Altoona offers still another reason for its industrial activity. This city is on the main line of the Pennsylvania railroad in a valley at the foot of the pass. It is not only a division point on the road, but the location for the principal shops of the system. It is a railroad town whose prosperity has grown along with the " Pennsy," as that giant corporation is affectionately called. Over seven thousand Altoona men are employed in transportation.

Proximity to market, which means nearness to the more densely settled areas of the nation, also attracts industries. It would be poor business to open a plant in the thinly populated mountain region of the west to supply the general United States market, because of the cost involved in shipping goods to consumers. Consequently most manufacturing activity (except for processing of agricultural products such as cotton and tobacco) is concentrated in the New England, Middle Atlantic, and East North Central

states. Here one-half of the people of the country, living on one-seventh of the land, constitute the largest and most accessible market for fabricated goods.

The lower tax rate of Mediopolis is also an attraction for business organizations. Some cities are even ready to encourage the establishment of new factories by promises of a five-year exemption from local taxes. Wherever possible, manufacturers are building plants in cities with good transportation facilities, moderate tax rates, and low rental costs. These factors scale down operating expenses for the company and also diminish the cost of living for its employees; hence lower wages are paid, constituting still another saving for the company. Other considerations will be of significance for industrialists in different lines of work. In automobile manufacturing, for example, a corporation may prefer to locate where similar plants are already operating so that it may have the advantage of employing trained personnel. Or again, in some chemical or rubber industries a plant will be erected where an abundance of fresh water is available. The main factors, however, are the five listed above.

The presence or absence of such resources as have been named will shape the destiny of a growing town. Even an energetic and active chamber of commerce cannot attract industries to a site where there are no resources to work with. The development of a city, like that of a human personality, is influenced by the physical equipment it has at the start (its inherent natural advantages) and by the social environment (the prevailing patterns of living and standards of conduct). Social psychologists testify that personality patterns are largely set by the time a child reaches adolescence; similarly, by the time a city attains a population of one hundred thousand its cultural and economic patterns have taken a definite form which will influence its entire future. As the resources of the city shape the industrial development, so the latter in turn determines employment opportunities and many aspects of the cultural life of the city. These resulting social traits distinguish the industrial city from other urban types.

The Residents of the Industrial City

Such selective factors as those mentioned above attract not only industries, but also population groups peculiarly suited to the environment, and tend to discourage the advent of others. Altoona, which grew lustily during the years of railroad expansion, attracted many native Americans as well as a substantial number of foreigners migrating to this country at the turn of the century, particularly Germans, Irish, and Italians. Its population increase of twenty-two thousand in the last decade came chiefly from native American stock, since immigrants were no longer arriving in large numbers; in fact, there has been almost no change since 1910 in the number of foreign-born. Binghamton, on the other hand, has sizable contingents from Czechoslovakia, Italy, Poland, and the Irish Free State. Both these cities have demanded skilled and semi-skilled workers. In contrast to them is Scranton, which has made a bid for great numbers of unskilled laborers. Immigrants who could not qualify for specialized jobs on the railroad at Altoona were able to obtain employment in the mines of Scranton. Indeed in 1930, of Scranton's 143,000 population 25,000 were foreign-born (Altoona had 6,000 out of a total of 82,000) and 62,000 were American-born of foreign or mixed parentage. Second and third generation Americans have not been attracted to Scranton in large numbers; immigrants have filled the jobs.

Once it is recognized that the nature of a city's industrial activity is an important factor in determining the type of people who settle in the community, the close connection between the work pattern and the social and religious life is clear. It is not surprising that Scranton with 15,000 Poles, 13,000 Irish, 11,000 Italians, 10,000 Germans, and 7,000 Lithuanians, has definite racial communities and numerous societies which keep alive the Old World cultures and loyalties; that political antagonisms are in evidence and that a variety of distinctive problems confronts the schools. Nor is it surprising that Scranton is definitely a Roman

Catholic city, that denomination claiming more than half of the adult population affiliated with some religious organization.

Industrial cities are selective in yet another way. They, like the growing commercial cities, attract younger men and women and present fewer work opportunities for persons over forty-five. Binghamton and Schenectady, which specialize in light manufacturing, offer more jobs for women than do heavy-industry towns. A third of the employed persons in Binghamton and almost two-fifths of those in Winston-Salem are women, but in Altoona and Scranton, where there are heavy industries, only one-fifth and one-fourth of the workers respectively are women. These selectivities of nationality, age, and sex are even more in evidence in the industrial suburb than in the industrial city.

Work Patterns

The sample cities included in Table II offer a variety of industrial patterns. Altoona and Tacoma are transportation towns, but the latter boasts in addition a thriving lumber industry. Winston-Salem earns its living by the processing of tobacco. Binghamton is dependent on shoe manufacturing in general and on the Endicott-Johnson Company in particular. A different pattern is presented by Scranton, approximately one-fifth of whose employed workers are engaged in mining and a large percentage in heavy industry. Heavy and light manufacturing are found in about equal proportions in Evansville, no one corporation dominating the industrial life of the city.

The type of work tends to determine the income and therefore the living standards of the people. The contrast in occupational distribution between commercial and industrial cities can best be seen by comparing Tables I and II.* These data not only show the dominance of manufacturing and mechanical trades in the latter cities but also that they employ fewer professional

* Cf. also the average occupational distribution for various urban types, Appendix II.

TABLE II

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION IN INDUSTRIAL CITIES

By Per Cent

Occupation	Altoona	Binghamton	Evansville	Scranton	Tacoma	Winston-Salem
Agriculture & Forestry	.2	.4	1.4	.3	3.0	.9
Building	4.5	5.2	6.1	4.8	6.2	5.5
Manufacturing, Mechanical & Extraction	36.0	40.7	39.4	41.3	32.7	48.6
Transportation & Communication	20.2	8.5	9.2	8.9	10.5	5.7
Trade	14.4	14.6	15.1	16.0	17.3	11.6
Public Service	1.5	1.8	1.9	2.1	2.0	1.2
Professional Service	6.5	7.9	6.0	7.1	7.9	5.4
Domestic & Personal Service	7.9	11.0	11.1	8.9	11.0	14.6
Clerical	8.8	9.9	9.8	10.6	9.4	6.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Per cent of gainfully employed who are females	20.0	33.2	26.0	25.3	22.7	38.6

workers. This is an indication that people are less able to avail themselves of professional services, presumably because of lower income and living standards. If the effective demand for such services were as great in industrial as in commercial cities it is proper to assume that the number of trained persons necessary to meet the requirements would be approximately equal in both. What this means in actual life situations is that parents permit their children's teeth to decay instead of sending them to the dentist, that colds are treated at home instead of at the doctor's office. Men and women living in commercial cities have roughly 25 per cent more schoolteachers, doctors, and lawyers to meet their needs. Apparently there is an economic surplus in the average commercial city which enables it to maintain a superior standard of living.

Further confirmation of this difference is the fact that there is less trade (judging by census employment figures) by 25 per cent in industrial than in commercial cities. Although more stores per ten thousand inhabitants may exist in an industrial city, where this occurs they are smaller, employ fewer persons and, on the average, do comparatively less business. This relative subordinateness of trade, while it may be in part a result of the smaller trade area of the industrial city, is another indication of the lower per capita income in such centers, and again shows a correlation with the number employed in professional service. There are also fewer workers in personal service in industrial than in commercial cities. It may be argued that Winston-Salem has over five thousand (14.6 per cent) so employed in contrast to some commercial cities which have considerably fewer. When, however, one compares Winston-Salem with a southern commercial city, such as Montgomery, where 28.8 per cent are employed in personal service, a more accurate picture results. Here again the low income level of the Negro marks off southern from northern centers.

The industrial city is more subject to the vagaries of the business cycle than is the commercial city, with its broader economic

base. Shops and stores, which predominate in the latter city, manage to struggle along and keep most of their employees on the payroll even when the industries shut down. While people cannot spend as they once did, there is a minimum below which consumption cannot go, even though it be paid for by public funds. Also, the public services must be maintained. Those industries which produce goods directly for the consumer are able to weather a business depression with less risk and hardship than are the so-called heavy industries. Consequently, a food processing center will suffer less than a steel or a coal-mining town. Industrial cities, then, particularly those specializing in heavy manufacturing, suffer most during a period of unemployment. When the smoke goes up the chimney the town prospers, for where the mills employ one-third of the working population, whether that number receives wages or not is a matter of prosperity or despair for practically the entire community. The grocer, the telephone company, the churches are all involved. Unemployment is especially serious in such cities because the annual (if not the hourly) wage in mills and mines is commonly low. As a result, those who lose their jobs have relatively less reserve to cushion them against the hardships of a prolonged depression.

Educational Patterns

Another sidelight on the industrial city is gained through a study of educational standards and school attendance. While in the sample commercial cities 68 per cent of the children aged sixteen and seventeen were attending school, in the industrial cities only 57 per cent attended. There is a proportionately greater difference in the school attendance of young people between eighteen and twenty, 28 per cent in commercial and 21 in industrial cities. The figures for the latter would be even lower were it not for the inclusion of Tacoma, which is somewhat marginal to the type and which, like nearly all western communities, has advanced educational standards and a high rate of school attend-

ance. This comparison between commercial and industrial cities holds for the south as well as for the north, although educational standards for the total population are lower in the south.

These contrasts furnish another indication of differences in cultural and economic patterns. Where living margins are lower fewer children are encouraged to go through high school; it is necessary for them to drop out of school and go to work in order to supplement the parental income. An additional explanatory factor is that in a commercial town there is more social pressure on young people to continue their education; it is the expected thing. Economic insecurity, more evident in manufacturing than in commercial cities, also tends to promote restlessness on the part of youth, and dissatisfaction with classroom methods and objectives. One result of the lower school attendance in industrial cities is to increase the relative number of job seekers and at the same time to decrease the preparation of young people for their life work, both of which influences tend to undercut the income levels within the community.

Similar differences between cities of the industrial and commercial types are discernible in all phases of the social organization. It is easier for politicians to sway the voters by demagogic tactics when the citizens are less well educated or on a lower economic level. This is more evident in the industrial suburb, where there are higher concentrations of industry and also of the foreign-born. One may conclude, therefore, that the work pattern of the city affects not only the selection of population but also the standards of living, of education, and of religious and political organization.

A Southern City

Winston-Salem, one of the most interesting of southern cities, has an unusual history. The village of Salem was established in 1766 by a group of Moravians, who made it a religious center. Their hopes and ideals were not dissimilar to those of the Pilgrims. A strong emphasis on religious freedom, on the value of

education, on thrifty, courageous living, set a pattern which is still to be found in the modern city. On the outskirts of Salem a small settlement named Winston was begun in 1850. The two communities united in 1913. Their most rapid development has come since that time, over one-third of the population (75,272 in 1930) having been added in the preceding ten years.

Winston-Salem is situated on the high and beautiful Piedmont Plateau, a rich farming and woodland area which lies to the east of the Appalachian mountain chain. By far the most valuable crop of the region is tobacco, which in Forsyth county (Winston-Salem is the county seat) has a cash value about double that of all grains combined. While the city does a lucrative business in cotton textile and furniture manufacturing, it is primarily dependent on the processing of tobacco for its economic preeminence in North Carolina. Indeed, Winston-Salem is the largest producer of manufactured tobacco in the world; over twelve thousand persons — one-third of the total number employed in the city — work in the tobacco factories. Ninety-five hundred Negroes, or more than one-half of all the employed Negroes in the city, are engaged in this industry.

The Negro obviously forms an important part in the economy of Winston-Salem, as he does throughout the south. The foreign-born, on whose labor northern industrial centers have been so dependent, are found in only negligible numbers. In Winston-Salem they constituted less than one per cent of the population in 1930, while the Negroes composed 43 per cent; in each case there was practically no percentage change from the 1920 figures, in spite of the rapid growth of the total population. That the Negro occupies a subordinate status in the city is evident from the nature of the work which he does and from differences in pay levels, living standards, housing conditions and educational provisions. The Negro's lower economic status also accounts for the relatively high percentage of persons employed in domestic service (almost 80 per cent of whom are colored) and the smaller percentage of professional people in the total population.

The illiteracy rate for native whites is 2.7 per cent and for Negroes 14.5 per cent. The poorer educational opportunities for Negroes reflected in these figures bring down the general school attendance rate for the youth of the city. For example, 41 per cent of the Winston-Salem children sixteen and seventeen years of age attend school, as compared with 57 per cent for the nation as a whole and 61 per cent for other cities studied in this class.

Since practically the entire population of Winston-Salem is of American stock, white or colored, it is not surprising that European influences are slight, and the cultural life of the city is a natural flowering of the standards and aspirations of the old rural south. Its beautiful streets and parks, its many homes of distinction, the intangible quality of quiet and charm which characterizes it, evidence this. Economic class differences which are recognized as such in the north are less manifest in the south, being largely superseded by race differences; these in turn are a significant aspect of the economic and cultural organization of the city.

Here as in other southern cities Protestantism is dominant, for Negroes as well as whites hold to the deep-seated traditions of their families and communities, in religious and in secular matters alike. The Baptist, Methodist, and Moravian churches care for the spiritual needs of the majority of the citizens. Many congregations are housed in beautiful edifices, pointed to with pride by the chamber of commerce as well as by the communicants. Religion has status in Winston-Salem, and on Sunday morning there is a virtual procession to the churches.

An Industrial City in the Empire State

Binghamton is an example of an industrial city which is also commercially important. The largest city in the southern tier of counties in central New York, with Scranton its nearest competitor, Binghamton serves as the shopping center for a population of some four hundred thousand persons. Consequently its commercial development is greater than that of cities whose hinterland is more restricted.

The territory at the confluence of the Susquehanna and Chenango rivers, in the verdant, rolling country of southern New York, has been favorable to human habitation from time immemorial. The site was first occupied by an Iroquois village. Armed expeditions in 1779 drove the Indians back into the interior and decisively ended their supremacy in this territory. In 1800, under authorization of William Bingham, owner of the "Bingham Patent," the laying out of streets for a "community in which trades, industries and arts would flourish" was begun. The further development of the site was a natural and inevitable process, considering its location in the logical path of transportation along the Susquehanna river and its accessibility to the more densely populated centers of the new nation.

The state legislature passed a special act in 1834 to make possible the incorporation of Binghamton as a village. Between 1848 and 1869 three railroads, the Erie, the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, and the Delaware and Hudson, reached Binghamton, connecting it with eastern points. These lines serve the city today and, in addition to heavy truck traffic which moves in and out, provide distributive facilities for the quantities of manufactured products. In 1867 Binghamton was incorporated as a city; it has enjoyed a steady growth in the twentieth century, from a population of 39,647 in 1900 to an estimated 81,150 in 1936.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century an industry was established which was to color the entire future development of Binghamton: George F. Johnson set himself up in business as a shoe manufacturer. Shoes are avowedly the basis of the industrial development of this city, and of its thirty-five thousand employed persons over one-fifth are engaged in the fabrication of footwear. The towns of Johnson City and Endicott, located a few miles to the west of Binghamton, were planned and developed for some of the nineteen thousand Endicott-Johnson workers. Naturally these employees and their families, living in the three adjoining cities, with the common interest of their work and under the

" guidance " of the corporation, tend to establish the living standards for the rest of the population.

The Endicott-Johnson Corporation is a classic example of a paternalistic industrial organization. Held firmly in the grasp of its founder and his family, it has from the beginning placed great emphasis on the welfare of the workers, inviting the discontented to " come in " and discuss their complaints, building homes for workers at or below cost, developing community institutions, providing health, educational, and recreational services, and " sharing profits." In return it expects a contented and " cooperative " family of workers who will turn deaf ears to labor union organizers. So far it has not been disappointed, and declares with pride that union organizers cannot offer the workers anything they do not already possess. The chamber of commerce advertises that here is a city where there are no labor disputes and no " radicalism." The name Johnson is prominent in all civic affairs and Johnson money has created many of the permanent landmarks of the city.

Raw materials, steel and coal, are in close proximity; sea and lake ports are within easy reach; lumber and agricultural products are available. These advantages account for the manufacture in Binghamton of a wide variety of small products in addition to shoes, and for 41 per cent of the workers who are engaged in manufacturing.

This is a city of small homes, 42 per cent of them being occupied by their owners. Employment has been steadier in Binghamton during the depression than in many of the state's other cities of comparable or larger size because of the variety of essential consumer goods which it produces. A steady income has promoted interest in maintaining and beautifying homes, and the city boasts of the absence of slums within its boundaries.

Binghamton's population is predominantly white, less than one per cent being Negro; this is in marked contrast to Winston-Salem. On the other hand, 13.8 per cent of Binghamton's population is of foreign birth, in comparison with 0.6 per cent in Winston-Salem.

These foreign-born inhabitants come principally from Ireland and England, Italy, Lithuania, and Russia. In an industrial city of the northeast the immigrant generally fills the lower paid and less desirable jobs. Illiteracy among the foreign-born is 15.8 per cent, while for the American-born white it is only 0.3 per cent. The presence of the foreign-born is reflected in the distribution of members of religious bodies. Nearly a third of the population thirteen years of age and over is affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church, approximately the same as the total "adult" membership in all the Protestant churches combined. This is typical of the northern industrial city where there is a sizable foreign group, and stands in contrast to southern cities.

By virtue of its location, its resources, its population, and its organization, Binghamton serves as an excellent example of the American industrial community. It is a thriving, bustling, self-conscious city, whose welfare is dependent on the prosperity of its hinterland and on the nation-wide market for its products. Its industrial and municipal leaders are active in promoting civic consciousness and in publicizing the advantages to be found here for additional industries and capital investment. It likes the title sometimes given it by national producers and distributors of "an ideal American city."

The Future of the Industrial City

The great metropolis may boast of its impressive land values, but high real-estate prices increase the cost of industrial production as well as the cost of living. Consequently some manufacturers are finding it profitable to transfer their production units to smaller cities either in the immediate environs of the great center (industrial suburbs) or to industrial and commercial cities. This is part of the ever present struggle to produce with greater economy. Certain living costs, such as rent, are lower in the small or medium-sized city and money will therefore go farther, so that the industrialist feels justified in paying somewhat lower wages than in the metropolis. There is less shifting of population

in Mediopolis, which makes for social stability and a lower labor turnover, a goal sought by every industrial management. With land less expensive and a marked desire on the part of the workers to remain in the community, there will be a higher rate of home ownership and a commensurate sense of contentment on the part of the worker.

It is not surprising that the south in particular has benefited in the past fifteen years from the shifting of industries away from the great centers, for the very influences which cause the withdrawal of a plant from a metropolis attract it to southern cities where rents and labor costs are low. It may be expected that the movement of industry to the south will continue until, in the not too distant future, living standards there are raised to a level more nearly comparable to that in northern cities. Concerns which moved south to avoid the necessity of employing union labor are finding that the " contented " southern worker to whom a three-dollar-a-day wage was good pay is beginning to join with his fellows in a trade union. His doing so will mean a decided improvement in the living conditions of both Negroes and whites. Higher wages are impossible in the south for unskilled and skilled white workers unless the benefit is also extended to the Negro, whose lower living standard constitutes a continuing threat to the economic security of the whites; for the machine responds as quickly to a black as to a white hand.

Since shipping costs are high and may be expected to mount, many an industrialist is finding it profitable to manufacture his goods in four or six centers rather than to operate one mammoth establishment at a central point. This fact, plus increased consumption of goods throughout the midwest and south and on the west coast, is making it profitable to establish branch factories as well as branch salesrooms. Such a development brings workers into the medium-sized city from the surrounding area.

The heightened regard which all America has for that which is " urban," the growing appreciation of urban values, educational and cultural as well as economic, causes rural and small-town

dwellers to look to the city as an ideal to be admired and a pattern to be copied. Though moralists and reformers may bemoan this tendency there is small likelihood that it will disappear. In view of the decentralization from the large city and the concentration of social forces in the medium-sized city, we may rather expect that Mediopolis, especially the commercial and industrial types which have hinterlands of their own, will play an increasingly important role in our whole cultural life in the decades which lie ahead.

5

The Industrial Suburb: The Workshop of the Nation

RAPID as has been the growth of metropolitan centers in the United States since 1920, the expansion of suburban communities clustering about them has been even more remarkable. By suburbs is meant those incorporated population groups which are adjacent to and therefore under the immediate influence of the great city. In this particular study attention is confined to such suburban municipalities as have a population of 50,000 to 150,000, eliminating from consideration those — the vast majority — which are smaller in size. Suburban centers have been the fastest growing population units in the country, commonly increasing two or three times as rapidly as the central city.

Such municipalities are usually more compact than are "independent" cities which have their own hinterland. The commercial city of the plains spreads out, sprawling in all directions. In the suburb, whether industrial or residential, the population density is much greater because, since land values are higher, land utilization must be more complete. Its boundaries do not ordinarily include large undeveloped areas; as a rule it is cut off on one side by the metropolis and on the remaining sides by other towns and villages which are quite self-conscious and not interested in losing their identity. Miami and Tacoma, both independent cities, include about forty square miles within their boundaries, while the suburban cities, Elizabeth, Cambridge, and

Camden, with populations of approximately the same size, comprise fewer than ten square miles each.

Suburbs are of two contrasting patterns: (1) The industrial type, considered in this chapter, is dominated by factories and forges, machine shops and mills, and draws to itself from metropolis and hinterland those persons who are normally employed by such enterprises. Most workers engaged by the industries may be classed as skilled or semi-skilled labor. (2) The "high-class" residential type is inhabited chiefly by persons who have been pushed out from the central city by newcomers. They have moved because they wished to avoid the population congestion of the city and enjoy the advantages of a more exclusive area for themselves and their children, and because they could pay the higher living costs involved. Suburbs, like communities within cities, tend to be specialized; i. e., an industrial suburb does not draw to itself many people who can afford to live in an exclusive area and whose primary aim in moving to the suburb is to enjoy the status, the comfort and beauty which a more expensive community affords. Naturally many suburbs fail to conform perfectly to either of these patterns. Some include two more or less clearly defined districts, one occupied by industries and their workers and the other by better class residences. Malden and Yonkers are cases in point. Commonly, however, suburbs are exclusively of one type or the other. Even where both patterns are present in the same suburb, the two communities will be clearly distinguishable, with an interstitial or nondescript area interposed between them.

The Traits of the Suburb

In spite of these differences the industrial has much in common with the residential suburb that grows up on some other fringe of the metropolis. Each is a partial city and is dependent on the larger center for its life as well as for many of its conveniences. Each is closely tied in by rapid transportation lines along which

the workers move during the morning and evening rush periods. Subways and elevated lines shorten the distance between the suburb and the heart of the metropolis, and commuters or shoppers can travel the intervening ten or fifteen miles in twenty minutes or half an hour. Cheap rapid transportation, which is the prerequisite for the large-scale development of suburban life, may reduce the time-cost distance * by half, which has the effect of bringing the suburb closer than some of the physically nearer points located between the radial lines of transportation.

The economic and cultural life of the suburb is inextricably tied up with that of the big city. Many of the suburbanites (men and women from residential and women from industrial suburbs) secure employment in the huge stores, banks, and office buildings of the metropolis, while thousands of men from the big city enter the industrial suburb each morning to work in the factories. Minor ailments are treated by the family physician, but for serious operations the city specialist is consulted. Housewives may buy their groceries, their notions and kitchenware in local stores, but for dresses and furniture they prefer the magnificent department stores of the city, where selection is wider and there is more romance in shopping.

Thus the suburb is not economically self-sufficing; neither is it politically independent, except in name. When in the spring of 1936 the Chicago city council voted to go on eastern standard time permanently (the equivalent of daylight saving time all the year round) the citizens of suburban communities voiced vehement opposition to the measure; but in spite of themselves they were forced in September to keep their clocks set one hour ahead of standard time (until November of the same year when the citizens of Chicago themselves repudiated their council's action) because of their complete dependence on the metropolis.

* It is not the number of miles one travels, but the length of time it takes to get from place to place and also the cost involved that determines the direction and distance of suburban development.

Each year the suburban communities perfunctorily vote for summer daylight saving time; there is nothing else for them to do; they are dominated by Chicago.

The Development of the Industrial Suburb

Mills and factories are to be found in all sections of the land, but the real workshop of the nation, the place in which industrial development has reached its acme, is those suburban areas which have been pre-empted for industrial activity. The story of our economic order, which can be written in terms of the increasing division of labor, human and geographical, would be incomplete without the important chapter on the rise of the industrial suburb, the locus par excellence for large-scale manufacturing. Its development is a phenomenon of the past twenty-five years, the result of the outward movement of population and factories from the metropolis. To avoid the high land costs and taxes and the "political interference" found in some large cities many corporations have relocated their factories in the low-rent areas of suburban towns. The same employees can be retained, taxes are lower, and the plant is still near enough to the administrative offices, which usually remain in the metropolis, for convenience of supervision.

From what has been said it will be obvious that the industrial suburbs of the nation will be found chiefly in the vicinity of such cities as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Only in the economic life of metropolitan areas will there be a sufficient measure of specialization to furnish an adequate basis for the development of an industrial suburb the size of Mediopolis. In smaller cities industry has not been under economic pressure to move to a suburban location. The taxes it pays and the employment opportunities it offers are so important to local prosperity that the city fathers are sensitive to its needs. While some industries may exist adjacent to cities of two hundred thousand population, they will not be sufficiently important to furnish the economic

foundation for a suburban center of fifty to a hundred fifty thousand.

Industry is viewed as a great boon within those communities which recognize their dependence on it, even by persons engaged in commerce and trade, for the city and its economic life still have unitary significance for them. But this feeling of identity with the whole disappears as the city grows larger and residents, immersed as they are in their own commercial and cultural pursuits, lose sight of the fundamental basis of urban economic development. The smoke and smell of industry, the clatter and roar of machinery, and the risk occasioned by shunting of railroad cars and by truck traffic, are viewed with disfavor. Zoning ordinances are established to relegate heavy industry to the least desired areas of the town, which incidentally are generally the most suitable for the industry itself.

The movement of freight trains and trucks through the crowded streets of the metropolis or over viaducts constructed at heavy expense is not economical of time or money. An industrial suburb offers transportation facilities as ample as those of the neighboring city, and may eliminate some of the complicating factors and hazards. Such suburbs develop along the main line of the railroads which radiate from the center of the great city. They do not arise in the interstitial sections which remain relatively unoccupied — sections like the intervals between the fingers when the hand is stretched out, the fingers representing the railroad lines and the gaps the interstitial areas.

Some suburban communities have had a long, slow development; Lynn, Elizabeth, and Camden are cases in point. Others have appeared suddenly, almost full grown. As late as 1907, when the United States Steel Corporation bought up the land to make it one of the colossal industrial centers of America, Gary was but a stretch of shifting sands and reedy swamps. Dearborn, as late as 1920, was a small village of less than twenty-five hundred population; within the decade, with the advent of the Ford River Rouge plants, it grew to over fifty thousand. A city which de-

velops slowly has a sense of historic continuity; traditions have been established, there are old-timers who can gossip about landmarks and events of the past and who give the town a feeling of permanency. The " factory-built " city such as Gary may be well laid out and neatly planned, but it has some of the characteristics of the mail-order suit. It may have individuality, but its distinctiveness does not arise out of the collective experiences of the people through the years; neither is the age distribution of its population normal. Its spectacular rise has attracted men and women in the prime of life. There are few elderly people in Dearborn or Gary (the percentage of the population sixty-five years of age and over in these cities is 1.9 and 1.6 respectively, whereas for the nation as a whole it is 4.8). In the older industrial suburbs there is a more normal population distribution, the percentage of those over sixty-five years of age in Camden, for example, being 4.5, and in Lynn 6.5. Here again there are social implications. A long history has a stabilizing influence, politically and socially. Where a city is built from the ground up in ten years and people are brought in from all sections of the country, lured by the promise of a job, there are few ties which hold the citizens together, the most binding being their interest in steady employment. Community consciousness will develop, but time is required for its maturation.

Population Characteristics of Industrial Suburbs

Factories and mills have found a large proportion of their workers among immigrants and the children of immigrants. Little opportunity to earn a livelihood in agriculture has been offered those who have come to this country since the turn of the century. The good, cheap public land was already taken up and most of the newcomers could not purchase the equipment needed for effective competition in agriculture, let alone buy high priced land. At this time however the industries and mines of the country were expanding rapidly and calling for more and more employees. A migrant to these shores could secure employment with

such concerns even though he were penniless. Indeed, many large corporations encouraged European peasants to come to America, promising what to them seemed fabulous wages. When the immigrants arrived they moved into communities where jobs were available, tending to settle down where others of their own nationality had already located, in the " little Italys " and " little Polands " of the great cities, or in mining or factory towns. Within these colonies they found some of their Old World culture, could continue to speak their mother tongue, worship in churches served by priests from the old country, and participate in their characteristic festivals and holidays.

Some immigrants went directly to suburban communities, others moved there after learning American ways; but most of them remained in the familiar colony. Their children, however, who had received their education in the public schools of America, had opportunity to earn a better living and were not content to remain in the racial community, but sought to move out of the tenement districts into pleasanter sections of the city or beyond it into an industrial suburb. To the Czech residents of Chicago's West Side, Cicero looks almost like heaven; out there one can have a home of his own, grass and trees become possibilities, the schools are better, and the young people are in less danger of contact with criminal gangs. The Dutch housewife, with her fondness for order and cleanliness, longs for the day when her husband can earn enough so that they can move out of the vicinity of the railroad yards and the smoke-laden atmosphere. It is the second generation rather than the first which forms the most important single element in an industrial suburb. The native white population of American parentage constitutes less than one-third of the total in such industrial suburbs as Cicero, Elizabeth, Gary, and Yonkers; it is a characteristic of cities of this type to have a population made up chiefly of the foreign-born or their children.

European immigration was adequate to meet the labor needs of developing industry prior to the World War. The cessation of this flow of workers in 1914 caused industrialists to turn to

the only great supply of low-wage labor available: the rural Negroes of the south. During the latter part of the war and through the early 'twenties, Negroes arrived in New York, Chicago, and other centers by the tens of thousands, a trainload at a time. Many found their way into the industrial suburbs. Though practically none went to Cicero, Gary, only twenty miles away, numbered eighteen thousand Negroes in its population by 1930. This spotty distribution is due in part to the employment policy of some manufacturing concerns. Toward the end of the 1920 period of prosperity Mexicans also began to flow into some of these cities, but in smaller numbers.

The resulting racial and nationality composition of the population in our industrial suburbs constitutes one of their most interesting characteristics. For example, of Cicero's 66,602 inhabitants in 1930, 20,459 had migrated from Czechoslovakia or were the children of such migrants. Poland was represented by 10,572, Germany by 4,944, and Lithuania by 4,240. In the one medium-sized city of Cicero there are more persons who were born in Czechoslovakia than are to be found in the following states combined: Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Nevada. It is not surprising that a large measure of the Old World Bohemian culture is preserved in Cicero. In comparison with these sizable nationality groups, there were in 1930 only 13,564 persons in Cicero whose parents had been born in America.

In most of our industrial suburbs no one nationality is quite so dominant as are the Czechs in Cicero. In Elizabeth, with a population of 114,589, there were in 1930, 14,000 Poles, 11,000 each of Italians and Germans, and over 5,000 each of Irish, English, and Russians, with smaller contingents from Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Hungary. In Gary the Poles, Czechs, Jugoslavs, Italians, and Greeks predominate, in addition to the large number of imported Negroes. Each industrial suburb

has its own characteristic combination, but in every one of them the population is overwhelmingly " working class," and from the standpoint of income and living standards might be described as middle or lower middle class. Of the native whites of native-born parents who live in such suburbs a disproportionately large number are engaged in the professions or serve as shopkeepers. " Old-line " white Americans tend to have greater economic and educational opportunities; consequently more of them enter the professions, business, or white-collar occupations, while apparently all who can do so avoid mill and factory work, which they feel would lower their social standing. The factories are manned by the migrants from Europe and their immediate descendants.

The Work Life

Not all industrial suburbs are alike. Some have specialized in heavy industries — for example, Gary and McKeesport in steel, Dearborn in steel and automobiles. In others light manufacturing is dominant. The economic life of Cicero swings about the great Western Electric plants, while in Lynn the General Electric Company and a few large shoe factories fill the pay envelopes. These differences in the economic base result in many interesting social contrasts. For example, where heavy industries are prominent very few women will be gainfully employed, for the mills do not use female labor. This may be why, in both Dearborn and Gary, an unusually high percentage of the women are married; fewer than 15 per cent of the gainfully employed are females. Naturally, few spinsters are attracted to these towns because of the difficulty of securing a livelihood. Gary has one hundred thirty-six men for every one hundred women. In cities specializing in light manufacturing, however, women find it easier to secure employment. In Lynn, over 30 per cent of the total number of workers are women, thirty-five hundred being employed in the shoe factories alone. This difference in the proportion of employed women will have an effect on the pattern of home life in the city.

Industry in one form or another is dominant in all of these

cities, as will be seen by referring to Table III. A comparison with Tables I and II will show that the industrial suburb deviates from the " norm " (the commercial city) in the same respects as the industrial city, only to a more marked degree; i. e., from the standpoint of economic and social organization the industrial city stands midway between the commercial and the industrial suburb. For instance, in commercial centers one-fifth of the workers are employed in industry; in industrial cities the proportion is one-third, while in the industrial suburb it is one-half. Or, to take another occupational division for purposes of comparison, one finds that in the commercial cities from 8 to 10 per cent of the workers are engaged in the professions; industrial cities have 6 to 8 per cent so employed, and industrial suburbs 4.5 to 6.5 per cent.

What has been said in chapter 4 concerning the relationship between type of work and income and living standards is particularly applicable to industrial suburbs. The latter commonly have no " superior " residential section and no " exclusive " shopping district, for these functions are performed by the central city or a residential suburb which has in patrician fashion outlawed industry from its borders. Even the executives of the plants which are located in the industrial suburb choose to live in an adjoining and more restricted community and commute daily to work.

Forces are at work in a metropolitan region, as in a great city, which are constantly sorting people, who are usually unaware of the processes involved, jiggling those who have a comparable economic and cultural standard into one area while shifting others into a different community. The result of this process is to be seen in the surprising homogeneity within industrial and also within residential suburbs. East Orange in the main attracts people of different social strata than does Paterson; Oak Park or Evanston than Cicero or Gary. Hence there is a degree of homogeneity in the suburbs not found in the metropolis itself, for the latter has within its corporate boundaries a number of

TABLE III

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION IN INDUSTRIAL SUBURBS

By Per Cent

Occupation	Cicero	Dearborn	Gary	Lynn	McKeesport	Paterson
Agriculture & Forestry	.3	.7	.2	.8	.0	.3
Building	5.4	5.6	4.0	5.5	3.6	6.0
Manufacturing, Mechanical & Extraction	46.8	54.8	55.0	46.2	51.9	47.1
Transportation & Communication	7.4	5.7	7.2	5.4	6.0	6.7
Trade	10.8	9.2	10.5	13.0	13.3	13.6
Public Service	1.5	2.2	1.6	1.7	1.9	2.1
Professional Service	4.3	6.7	5.9	6.3	6.6	6.4
Domestic & Personal Service	5.1	6.5	8.5	9.2	6.8	8.0
Clerical	18.3	8.5	7.1	11.8	9.9	9.7
Total	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9
Per cent of gainfully employed who are females	23.2	13.6	14.5	30.3	17.2	27.0

specialized and contrasting areas and population groups. This process of selection also explains the comparatively low economic plane of one suburb and the comparatively high plane of another. That general living standards are lower in industrial suburbs than in the cities discussed in preceding chapters or those which follow (except for southern centers) is evidenced by the extremely low proportion of persons engaged in the professions. There is a smaller amount of trade; fewer families can hire domestic or personal help.

Because of the large number of foreign-born in industrial suburbs, the illiteracy rate is higher than in most northern communities, ranging generally from 10 to 15 per cent for the foreign-born. It is lower in such cities as Dearborn and Lynn, where many of the foreign-born come from Canada and consequently have had the advantage of fairly adequate schooling. Illiteracy for native whites is negligible in all cases. Even though the children of the foreign-born have learned to read and write, only a small proportion of them continue their studies beyond high school. Lynn has the best record among the industrial suburbs studied: 29 per cent of its young people eighteen to twenty years of age continue their schooling. Most, however, have fewer than 20 per cent in this category; for example, Camden has 11 per cent, Cicero 13, Dearborn 19, Elizabeth 14, and Paterson 16. In commercial cities the number of young people continuing their education is about twice as large. Educational standards may be taken as an earmark of present interests and ambitions and as an earnest of the future earning power and cultural level of a population.

An Old Industrial Suburb

Alexander Hamilton, always a far-sighted man, realized that manufacturing would increase and determined to establish an industrial town not too far removed from the city of New York. In 1792, impressed by Passaic Falls as a water power site, he founded, through his " Society for Establishment of Useful Manu-

factures," the city of Paterson, a few miles west of the Hudson river. The phenomenal development of nearby New York City and its metropolitan area has closely linked in Paterson and other suburban cities by economic and physical bonds. The opening of the Holland vehicular tunnel, and later of the George Washington bridge, brings the metropolis still closer. Fifteen miles, or thirty minutes, separate the two, and the area in between is almost continuous city. Paterson is as near the business district of Manhattan as are many parts of the city of New York itself.

Paterson is the most important silk processing center in the United States. This industry was begun in 1839 when the China silk trade was carried on around Cape Horn. Proximity to the New York harbor, cheap power, a good water supply, and nearness to the market gave Paterson an early advantage. The large number of highly trained workers possessed of the requisite technical skills has been a further important factor in inducing other silk industries to locate here. Over six hundred establishments, employing twelve thousand workers, are currently engaged in manufacturing silk, while thirteen thousand additional wage earners are in the silk dyeing and printing trades. About three-fourths of all the silk goods produced in America are dyed and printed in or near Paterson. Over two-thirds of the industrially employed men and women in this bustling manufacturing suburb earn their living through the processing of silk. Many other products are also manufactured here: aircraft engines and art glass, boilers and bedding. It is indeed an industrial town, almost half of all wage earners being engaged in manufacturing or the mechanical trades. However, Paterson, like other towns that are chiefly dependent on one industry, is tied for weal or woe to that industry. Silk goods are essentially a luxury; therefore the depression hit Paterson severely. The development of synthetic fabrics, such as rayon, has also brought hardship, and is probably one important reason for the recent slow rate of the city's growth.

Paterson, near as it is to the New York harbor, has been readily accessible to immigrants coming from Europe, and the growing

industries of the city offered employment to thousands who had few assets other than their teachability and eagerness to earn a living. Of the 138,513 inhabitants, 43,000 were born abroad and an additional 59,000 were born in this country of foreign or mixed parentage. Only one out of four comes of American stock. Approximately 30,000 were born in Italy or are of Italian parentage; 15,000 are British, not counting 6,000 from the Irish Free State; 11,000 Polish; 8,500 German, and almost as many Russian (chiefly Jews). Paterson, which from the first proved attractive to the Dutch of Manhattan and their kinsfolk in the Netherlands, still has about 7,500 who may be counted as Hollanders.

Conforming closely to the industrial suburban type, Paterson has, in addition to its economic dependence on manufacturing and its high ratio of foreign-born persons, other closely allied traits. The illiteracy rate, 6.2 per cent, is higher than in other mediopolitan types or in the country as a whole (4.3 per cent). This percentage will be lowered with the passage of the years, for nearly all the children of Paterson remain in school through their fifteenth year; but, as in other industrial centers, the majority drop out of school on the completion of the elementary grades or after a year in high school. Such children are not illiterate, but neither do they have the richer cultural background and training which are becoming increasingly common for urban children. In Paterson in 1930, 42.5 per cent of those sixteen and seventeen years of age, and 16.5 per cent of those eighteen to twenty, were attending school, as compared with 57.3 and 21.4 per cent for the nation and 84.1 and 49.6 per cent for such a residential suburb as Cleveland Heights. These contrasts are indicative of differences not only in economic standards (which limit ability to utilize the available facilities) and in educational aspirations, but also in more subtle areas: conception of the child's role in the family economy, and of the value and function of a liberal education.

Paterson, then, is a stable, well organized suburb with a long history, at many points in marked contrast to the lusty young

heavy-industry city of Dearborn. By means of its industrial specialty, silk, it has earned its living and also renown. A city with relatively high factory wages, it has been particularly hit by the cheap textiles and silk substitutes manufactured in the south. Its future therefore is closely tied up with living standards and manufacturing methods in other parts of the United States and the world.

An Automobile City

Until fifteen years ago Dearborn was a small rural town adjoining the expanding young giant, Detroit. The development of the Ford River Rouge plant changed the picture and the city of Dearborn sprang into being almost overnight. It was incorporated in 1927, and two years later was joined by the town of Fordson. It had a population of fifty thousand in 1930, which by 1936 had increased to an estimated eighty-five thousand.

Dearborn is essentially a one-industry city and Henry Ford is its godfather. The River Rouge plant which supplies work for about one-half of all the employed persons in the city covers over one thousand acres. Here the crude ore is received from the Great Lakes freighters and in short order emerges at the far end of the assembly line as a finished car. So carefully timed and so continuous is the process that ore which arrives at eight o'clock on Monday morning can emerge as part of a finished car by Tuesday noon. The size of this mammoth enterprise can be judged from the fact that " 5,000 men are engaged solely in keeping the plant clean. . . . In a month 16,000 gallons of paint are applied to walls and machinery — 5,000 mops and 3,000 brooms are worn out — 86 tons of soap are used."

Naturally the city which shelters such a vast establishment is greatly influenced by it and cannot be understood apart from it. However, the plant-city combination is not independent of its great neighbor, Detroit. Before each change of shifts in the Ford plant thousands begin to arrive from nearby Detroit by automobile and various types of public transportation to take

the place of those who are punching their time-cards at the close of their work day. The city of Dearborn does not have enough employable persons to meet the needs of the plant, which in 1937 had 89,300 on its pay rolls.

Dearborn is dependent on Detroit in many other ways. Young people attend Detroit's universities and professional schools. Young and old drive in for much of their social and recreational life. The women of Dearborn do a considerable amount of shopping for major items in the large Detroit department stores. The services of the medical, legal, and other specialists of Detroit are frequently sought by Dearbornites; many of them enjoy worshiping in the magnificent churches of the metropolis. To be sure, Dearborn does have good stores, theaters, hospitals, and churches of its own, but the metropolis draws like a lodestone. It has prestige; people enjoy going there. Dearborn is definitely an industrial suburb which can perform the one specialized function of manufacturing millions of cars a year only because it is so near Detroit that the latter can supplement it at many points.

Dearborn is young in years, in the nature of its activity, and in population. There are fewer elderly people sixty-five years of age and over (1.9 per cent of the total population) than in cities of other types (5.1 per cent for the total urban population, 5.4 for the nation). It is a man's town, too, with one hundred thirty-two men to every one hundred women. Considering that it is an industrial suburb it contains surprisingly few foreigners. Five thousand of its people were born in Canada or of Canadian parents and an equal number come from Poland and Germany; but other nations have few representatives. Most of the workers have come from rural America. They have tinkered with Ford cars and " made 'em run "; now they have come to " make 'em." Men — young men — come here to earn enough money to buy a home, hoping to bring the family later. A large number succeed; many do not, and the turnover of transients is therefore always large.

Those who rise to executive or office positions move to a " high-class " area. Dearborn is a young man's town.

The people of Dearborn are a step above those of Cicero in educational achievement; most of their children complete the high school course. In Cicero the majority do not get that far. Dearbornites are proud of their city, its rapid development and promise for the future. This is a dynamic and activist city (in times of prosperity), the sort of place which Europeans would call typically American.

The Future of the Industrial Suburb

The advantages of concentration and large-scale production offered by the industrial suburb will no doubt for a good many years to come make it the most efficient and profitable setting for heavy industry. Small-scale and light manufacturing will perhaps find their future development linked with independent industrial cities, but those processes which depend on the availability of plentiful and swift transportation facilities, space for extensive buildings, heavy machinery, cranes and loading piers, and an inexhaustible labor supply will probably cling to the outskirts of the teeming centers of population rather than subsist in the metropolis or move to the industrial city.

Economists, both liberal and conservative, are prone to assert that periods of prosperity and depression will continue to succeed each other under our present system of economic organization. An upturn in the capital goods industries predicts a " boom " of activity in the heavy manufacturing plants of the suburbs; the flames from the furnaces cast a lurid light in the sky, and shifts of workers replace each other with assuring regularity. On the other hand, a prolonged period of depression throws an industrial suburb entirely off its feet. In the low point of the recent depression, relief was the only source of income for an estimated 40 per cent of the residents in such a city as Gary. Nevertheless, whatever may be the influence of governmental efforts to regulate

the cyclic changes in economic production and of governmental supervision of labor's relation to management, it can be predicted with relative safety that heavy industry will continue to be concentrated in specialized areas near great cities. Efficient production demands such concentration under any economic system.

The natural result will be the continued growth of population in industrial suburbs; however, the social characteristics will change. At present the laborious unskilled and semi-skilled work required in heavy industry is being performed by those with an immigrant background or by native Americans who have not been able to rise to a white-collar position. As a result of governmental efforts to restrict immigration, spurred on by the official attitude of organized workers toward " foreign labor competition," the immigrant accessions to our population have become negligible. This means that future recruits for heavy industry in our suburbs will of necessity be drawn from an American source. More Negroes may be attracted from the south, and even southern whites, separated from their farm tenantry by the mechanical cotton picker, may drift north to find work. The Mexican will not be a major figure in the industrial picture, since the climate of the north, both literally and figuratively, is uncongenial to him; also, and perhaps more important, because of the agitation on the part of labor leaders for his exclusion.

Industrial suburbs may eventually absorb much of the surplus rural population of the north and west, and these cities will gradually lose their distinctive racial features. The tendency of the foreign-born or their children to Americanize their names by dropping off such suffixes as *-ski, -wicz,* and *-stein* symbolizes the process by which, with the passage of the years, the whole matter of nationality allegiance recedes from consciousness, and these people become assimilated to American life and cultural standards. When the American farmer's son does not feel that he is entering a " foreign " community rural young people will flock in larger numbers to man the heavy industries. With technological development eliminating much of the back breaking drudgery which

has been associated with heavy industry, wages and standards will rise, perhaps through the pressure of union organization. As these changes take place, it is probable that the general economic and cultural tone of industrial suburbs will improve, rising to a level comparable to that of the independent industrial or commercial city.

6

The Residential Suburb: The Parlor of the Metropolis

RESIDENTIAL like industrial suburbs are in reality only segments of a city, performing one or two specialized functions for the population of the metropolitan area. They are essentially overgrown communities.* The typical residential suburb was originally a small village, perhaps ten or twelve miles from a nearby city, along the river bank or lake shore, on higher, less swampy ground than the surrounding area. In those days the village was a two-hour ride from the city. As the latter grew, its boundaries were pushed outward in all possible directions. Yet they did not move rapidly enough to satisfy a few persons who sought to get away from the noise and confusion. The village which, linked to the city by rail transportation, no longer seemed so far out in the country, attracted more and more commuting residents, until it grew to be a suburban town. By the time the central city had achieved the status of a metropolis the village had become a city in its own right; it and the larger neighbor had grown toward each other until now their boundaries touched, and only the taxpayers could tell where the dividing line lay.

A residential suburb never springs suddenly into being, as is the case with some industrial suburbs, for there is no one strong organizing agency which can, as if by fiat, create residential cities. Instead they develop more or less deliberately over a long period

* See footnote on p. 6.

of time, and therefore have a type of stability and status which many an industrial suburb lacks.

The Residents of the Suburb

The chief source for suburban population growth is the metropolis itself. Relatively few come directly to a suburb from the hinterland. City dwellers become tired of living in the midst of noise, traffic and dirt. The suburb is more open; houses, and for that matter apartments, are not crowded into so small a space. There are more trees, grass plots are larger. It is possible to own a pleasant home and have a garden. Parents are convinced that their children will have better opportunities in the suburb, that they can play with more suitable companions and attend a superior school. Also influencing the decision of the city dweller to move to the suburb is the desire, more or less conscious, to improve his social standing. He knows that the people living in Cleveland Heights or Lakewood "rate" a little bit higher socially and enjoy a pleasanter life than do most of those living in the city of Cleveland itself.

In the main, such a suburb attracts those who have an income above the average or who wish to pretend that they have. However, there is another group of people who move into suburbs, not for the sake of status for themselves but because of the many jobs created by the higher living standards and by the desire of the majority in the suburb to maintain or acquire social prestige. Affluent persons who can afford large houses require one or more servants to "tend" the house and prepare the meals, perhaps a nursemaid to care for the children, and a gardener-chauffeur for odd jobs. Others who have less money but long to be thought well of socially tend to ape the pattern of conspicuous consumption set by the acknowledged social leaders. They too would like to have at least one maid. If they cannot afford one full time, they contrive to manage with part-time service. Many persons therefore are able to gain employment in personal or domestic service in the suburbs. The exigencies of the situation

consequently cause the development within the residential suburb of a section or local community where dwell the household employees of the people in the " better districts." Some domestic servants travel from the city to the suburb each morning, returning home at night, but most of them prefer to locate near the area where they work. Since they can neither buy nor rent a home in the superior residential sections of the city, where land values are high, they usually develop a community of their own in another portion of the city, perhaps " west of the tracks " or " at the foot of the hill." This community owes its existence and the degree of prosperity it possesses to the presence of the wealthier communities within the same city. Sociologists characterize the relationship which exists between such a community and its wealthier neighbor as symbiotic; i. e., the differences between them are such that each performs essential services for the other.

Some residential suburbs develop around a university and as a result attract to themselves many who would not ordinarily be drawn to such specialized cities. Cambridge has grown up about Harvard University, as has Evanston about Northwestern. Each school has given a tone to the entire city and is one of the reasons for its growth as a residential community. To such schools come thousands of students who not only attend classes but live in the dormitories and boardinghouses and furnish patronage for the restaurants, specialty shops, and beauty salons as well.

Like the great city the residential suburb is constantly undergoing change. As population pressure increases, land values rise and districts which were zoned for private residences are opened to apartment houses. This move is opposed by the old-timers who enjoyed the aloofness of the town and are loath to see the entrance of new, disturbing urban influences. With the erection of apartment houses, many white-collar workers who formerly could not afford to live in the suburb make it their home. This change is most noticeable in the section of the suburb which adjoins the major city. As these new population groups move in,

many of the earlier residents decide that the town is getting too crowded and migrate farther out from the city into smaller communities. Thus finally the suburb loses much of its exclusiveness and wealth as it is engulfed by the city, while out beyond new and more exclusive suburbs are being born.

"To the City and Return"

Just as the industrial suburb may be likened to the workshop of the metropolitan district, so the residential suburb may aptly be called the big city's parlor or perhaps its master bedroom. The intimate relationship which exists between the suburb and the city may be perceived by watching the arrivals and departures at a suburban station on the rapid transit line. If one settles himself on a hard wooden bench in an Evanston "elevated" station at six o'clock in the morning, there is little to interfere with his solitude and repose for about an hour. Only a few travelers are moving in either direction and one- or two-car trains are adequate to carry them. The night station agent is relieved by the woman on the first day shift; the clerk in charge of the newsstand has everything in order, with tall stacks of morning newspapers piled on the counter ready for the rush period. As seven o'clock approaches, the observer notices an increase in traffic; an exchange of workers is taking place. Some who live in Chicago and are employed in or about the suburban homes are arriving. Others, from "west of the tracks," are leaving for work in the city as porters, janitors, streetcar conductors, etc.

By seven-thirty o'clock traffic is heavier. Clerks in local stores, filling station attendants, employees of a small cosmetic plant are arriving. The agent is selling more tickets for the city. A little before eight university students come rushing from the trains, hurrying for their first class. The peak of cityward traffic comes between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, when a steady stream of young and middle-aged men and women moves up past the newsstand and the ticket office to the "L" platform. Here one eight-car train follows another in rapid succession as

the Evanston contingent of white-collar workers, salespeople, stenographers and insurance agents hurry to catch the train which will get them to the job in time for the nine or nine-thirty opening.

By nine o'clock arrivals have dropped to a mere trickle and a change is noticeable in the type of person going downtown. Older men, executives, heads of departments, professional persons are now on their way. Mingled with them are many women shoppers looking for an early bargain. From ten o'clock on it is chiefly women who are city-bound. About noon some of the early shoppers are returning, but there is not much heavy traffic until students leave for home at various times during the afternoon when classes are out. By four o'clock the trains are again loaded, bringing homeward weary, package-laden shoppers. Before long the gray-haired, well groomed businessmen also make their appearance. (A large proportion of these men go and come by the steam train which offers faster service with fewer stops; the fact that it is somewhat more expensive is inconsequential. In some cases a chauffeur is waiting at the station with the family car to whisk the executive away with a minimum of delay and discomfort over the last few blocks to his home.)

The peak of returning traffic comes from four-thirty to six-thirty o'clock. An hour later another stream of people is cityward bound, eagerly anticipating an evening of relaxation and recreation in the theaters of Chicago. Mingled with them is the household help, free to leave after the dinner dishes are washed. Again, late in the evening, the trains bring the playgoers home.

If one were to watch the main avenues of automobile transportation through the same period he would find rather similar movements. However, there is little cityward traffic until those who occupy the more important positions begin to drive in, or perhaps have their chauffeurs do the driving while they, ensconced in the back seat, read the morning paper. In the evening, after the theaters are filled, another but smaller contingent leaves the suburb, going to Chicago cabarets and night clubs; these persons

drive to town, as one does not feel particularly comfortable in an elevated train if he is wearing evening dress. This final delegation of suburbanites who go to the city to utilize certain of its specialized facilities comes wearily homeward anywhere between midnight and dawn, when the round of interchange between city and suburb is about to begin once more.

Social Traits

The residential suburb has its own distinctive social characteristics. In the average city one would expect to find an even balance between the sexes. In this type of suburb, however, there is definitely a feminine dominance, the census reporting one hundred females to every eighty or ninety males; in the industrial suburb the reverse is generally the case. This excess of women occurs chiefly in the twenty to thirty-five year age group and consists in the main of spinsters. Several factors account for this large number of women. Many are attracted by the opportunities for employment in domestic service. Others reside in such a suburb because it is an attractive and also a reputable place to live; it is easier for a woman to obtain a white-collar job in the city if her home address is in this type of community. Widows and other women with independent income find here many interesting diversions with which to occupy their time: club meetings, concerts, church affairs, teas, and lectures.

In residential suburbs there are fewer single males and more single females than in the average urban community. A proportionately larger number of the men are married and maintain homes of their own than in the country as a whole or in other types of cities. These suburbs also are more congenial for elderly people; in Pasadena 12 per cent of the population is sixty-five years of age or over; the average for urban America is 5 per cent.

The residential suburb is characteristically an "American" city, for ordinarily at least three-fourths of the total population will have been born in the United States of white parents, from

15 to 25 per cent of the population being foreign-born or Negro. Many of this latter group are employed in the homes of the former. Most of the foreign-born come from England, Canada, the Scandinavian countries, and Germany. The Italians comprise an important segment of the foreign-born population in some of the eastern suburbs such as Newton, Mount Vernon, and East Orange.

In harmony with their other social traits, the illiteracy rate of these suburbs is quite low and, conversely, school attendance is unusually high. A comparison of proximate residential and industrial suburbs illustrates this point. East Orange has 30 per cent of its eighteen- to twenty-year-olds in school, while nearby Elizabeth has 14 per cent; Evanston has 46, while Cicero has 13 per cent. These figures would seem to indicate that in the residential suburb the average family income affords a wider margin above the bare necessities of life — affords greater economic security, opportunity for a continued education and a more generous consumption of the luxury goods and services of life. That this is so is clearly indicated by Table IV, which compares the number of persons in certain of the professions and also the number of domestic servants in Cicero and Evanston, two cities with populations of practically the same size and both suburban to Chicago.

TABLE IV

Members of Occupations	Cicero	Evanston
Dentists	44	132
Physicians & Surgeons	50	194
Trained Nurses	29	447
Teachers	188	854
Servants	318	3426

The difference in number of teachers in the two municipalities can be accounted for in part by the presence in Evanston of

Northwestern University. Cicero has no comparable institution; nor is there much likelihood of a university's locating in an industrial suburb where there are far fewer young people who complete their high school training. Some of the dentists and doctors who live in Evanston and therefore are included in the above table have their offices in Chicago, but this circumstance can account for only a part of the surplus. Clearly, the people in Evanston can, on the average, spend more money for the care of their health as well as for the training of their minds. The fact that there are ten times as many servants in Evanston as in Cicero is a further indication that there are more families in the former suburb who can afford to hire domestic assistance. These differences which distinguish the residential from the industrial suburb will be still further confirmed by a comparison of Table V, presenting the occupational distribution in certain residential suburbs, with the data in Table III (or cf. Appendix II).

In contrast to the industrial suburb, which shows greater specialization in the manufacturing and mechanical trades than any other type of city, the residential suburb, standing at the opposite extreme, has a minimum of such activities. In the industrial suburb about one-half of the workers are engaged in industry; only one-sixth are so employed in the residential suburb. On the other hand, there are roughly twice as many employed in the various commercial activities, and two to three times as many in professional service in the latter as in the former. When a city can afford a large measure of professional service it may also be expected to employ a correspondingly greater number in domestic and personal work. Both of these factors indicate the presence of wealth and " culture." Finally, because of the status advantages offered by the residential suburb to aspiring men and women engaged in white-collar occupations, it is not surprising that cities of this type will show a relatively high percentage of clerical workers.

TABLE V

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION IN RESIDENTIAL SUBURBS

By Per Cent

Occupation	Cleveland Heights	East Orange	Evanston	Mt. Vernon	Newton	Pasadena
Agriculture & Forestry	.6	.6	1.3	.8	2.4	5.4
Building	5.2	5.9	7.1	10.3	7.4	8.4
Manufacturing, Mechanical & Extraction	14.5	17.2	12.5	17.1	15.5	12.3
Transportation & Communication	3.4	5.9	6.0	7.6	6.8	6.9
Trade	26.6	21.7	24.0	20.7	19.2	20.0
Public Service	.8	1.6	1.6	2.0	2.1	1.7
Professional Service	18.5	15.2	15.7	12.1	14.4	14.9
Domestic & Personal Service	15.9	11.6	20.0	14.9	18.5	20.9
Clerical	14.6	20.3	11.9	14.5	13.7	9.5
Total	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0
Per cent of gainfully employed who are females	30.3	29.8	31.4	28.8	35.1	35.2

A University Suburb

Evanston owes its founding and development to the determination of a few Chicago men and women of the mid-nineteenth century to establish institutions of higher learning on the shores of Lake Michigan. There were few settlers in the territory before 1850, and Indian trails and landmarks were still prominent when in 1854 the first of these schools, Garrett Biblical Institute, a Methodist theological seminary, opened its doors. Shortly afterward Northwestern University and the Northwestern Female College started classes. It was practically the same group of people who founded the town and established these three institutions. The first religious services in the settlement were conducted by itinerant Methodist preachers in a small log schoolhouse. So it was that people of the Methodist persuasion were prominent in the laying out of the village, in the organization of the political and educational activities of the growing town, and in setting the cultural and social pattern.

In 1855 the small settlement, which had been known as Ridgeville, changed its name to Evanston in honor of one of the university's founders. The purchase of ground and the laying out of residence lots and streets by the university trustees stimulated interest in the community, and the opening of the Chicago and Northwestern railroad between Chicago and Waukegan, farther north, in that same year, resulted in a boom in the new territory. Drainage ditches were dug and on the newly acquired dry land east-west streets were constructed and homes established. Eight years later, with a population of twelve hundred, Evanston was formally incorporated as a village. As late as the turn of the century there stretched between Evanston and Chicago an expanse of prairie, a favorite retreat for the townspeople who liked to drive out into " the country " for a picnic. This open country has long since disappeared as residence and business areas of Chicago and Evanston have expanded.

There are several distinct high class residential communities

within the borders of Evanston. The oldest straddles the ridge; another adjoins the university and stretches south along the lake shore; the third and newest extends westward at the north of the city. In the lower land west of the ridge and of Evanston's main business district is to be found the Negro area. (Negroes formed eight per cent of the population in 1930). Farther south is a humble section occupied by a heterogeneous population, including many Poles. The latter groups are found " west of the tracks " (i. e., the elevated and railroad lines from Chicago); many of these people are employed in the wealthier homes to the east and north.

Evanstonians often refer to their city as the " Athens of the West." While a certain degree of smug complacency is evident in their attitude, it cannot be denied that the intellectual status of the population is comparatively high. The presence of nearly nine hundred teachers in schools and colleges, and of thousands of students presumably interested in the pursuit of knowledge, sets the tone for much of the city and attracts to it other thousands who find such surroundings agreeable. Several preparatory and professional schools are located here, and the city is frequently chosen for conferences and institutes of various kinds. Clubs and societies are embarrassed by a surplus rather than a paucity of leadership, and residents are distressed at their inability, due to lack of time, to take advantage of the countless opportunities to be enlightened, instructed, and entertained.

Old-timers have long bemoaned the fact that " Evanston is not what it used to be." However, until twenty years ago it had remained a quiet, satisfied, and reserved suburban community. Its people delighted in the quiet air of repose which characterized the streets; on Sunday no motion picture house could operate. In the 'twenties, however, even the most optimistic of oldsters could not fail to see that Evanston was changing. Increased prosperity allowed many white-collar workers to move in from Chicago in spite of the added rent and transportation costs. Demand for living quarters stimulated the erection of apartment

houses, at first chiefly in the south end of town but soon near the rapid transit stations throughout the length of the city. Evanston merchants, intoxicated by the increase in population and eager to expand the business centers, promoted " dollar days " and advertised widely, inviting patronage from all the surrounding communities. After an extended battle, the law for closing theaters on Sunday was repealed and efforts were made to develop a bright light area around the old and staid Fountain Square.

Unofficial conversations about the possibility of Chicago's annexing Evanston have aroused furious opposition and resentment on the part of the older residents, who vow they will never consent to the contamination of their city's political and cultural " purity " by the touch of Chicago's notoriously corrupt organization. An objective observer, however, can see signs that Evanston is changing from within; its politicians are becoming more professionalized, its population less " select," and its land more crowded. Although there is still a small-town beauty and serenity in its tree-lined streets there is evidence that the urban influence of Chicago is engulfing Evanston from the south. It is only a matter of time until Evanston, even though it may maintain its political independence, will be as much a part of the great metropolis as the Hyde Park community, with its University of Chicago, which was annexed years ago.

A Pacific Coast Suburb

For two centuries the atmosphere of the entire southwest has been distinctly Spanish in flavor. Explorers and padres moving north from Mexico to investigate the resources of the country and to evangelize the Indians represented the Castilian government and the Spanish Catholic Church. The skillful technique of the priests, plus the docility of the native Indians, permitted the peaceable establishment of a series of missions along El Camino Real, which traversed half the length of California. From then on until the days of the gold rush the Spanish influence was dominant. The brown hills and fertile valleys were

the scene of drowsy hacienda life, the comparatively small Mexican and Spanish population maintaining order of a sort among the Indians.

The present site of Pasadena was occupied by an Indian village when in 1770 Don Casper de Portola and his band of explorers passed north. Impressed by the beauty of the countryside, they honored the village with the name of San Pasqual, by which it was known for over a century. In 1884 a group of Americans, among the thousands pouring into the state, formed a settlement in the same valley, calling it the " Indiana Colony." A year later the name Pasadena, meaning " Crown of the Valley," was adopted. A village of 391 persons in 1880, it grew rapidly to 9,117 in 1900, to 45,354 in 1920, and now, according to the 1937 estimate, boasts a population of 85,000. This amazing expansion has been typical of the entire Los Angeles area during the past decades.

Los Angeles, the sprawling metropolis which dominates the southern California region, is encircled with suburban communities. Among them Pasadena has traditionally held the reputation of being the most exclusive, wealthy and beautiful. Twenty years ago the ride from downtown Pasadena to the business district of Los Angeles by interurban electric train carried one through much open country; now, such has been the population growth, the two municipalities have a segment of boundary in common, and the entire area has undergone urban development. The current use of the motor car for commuting long distances and the consequent development of excellent highways have brought Pasadena even closer to the life of the metropolis.

Pasadena, lying as it does at the foot of a mountain range and within a few miles of the ocean, has exploited to the full its scenic and climatic advantages. It is blessed, and at the same time handicapped, by a constant influx of easterners who, in holiday mood, enjoy the advantages of the city without sharing in its responsibilities. In this regard Pasadena has something in common with resort cities. With a large transient element in the population,

such municipalities fail to maintain the stability which accompanies a slower growth. Pasadena has resisted this uncontrolled development more successfully than has her larger neighbor.

Civic pride has been fostered in Pasadena for nearly fifty years by the annual "Tournament of Roses" staged on New Year's day as an objective demonstration to easterners that it is always springtime in California. The mile-long parade of floats, adorned with vast quantities of fresh flowers, attracts visitors by the hundred thousand to the streets of Pasadena. Superb gardens and parks, avenues of handsome homes with their landscaped grounds, establish its claim to be one of America's most beautiful cities. Its civic enterprises evidence the cultural interests and intellectual caliber of many of the past and present residents.

The record of Pasadena for school attendance is unusual, even for a residential suburb. Of young people sixteen and seventeen years of age, 91.5 per cent attend school, while 48.6 per cent of those who are eighteen to twenty are continuing their education. The contrast with industrial suburbs in this respect is therefore impressive. School attendance is the accepted pattern for young people in residential suburbs, and the opportunities for cultural and social as well as physical development are rich and varied. Only one in a thousand of the native whites is classed as illiterate.

One of the most noticeable characteristics of the city is that 12 per cent of the residents are sixty-five years of age or over. Pasadena has long been a favored retirement spot for wealthy oldsters. On the other hand there are fewer young people, only 18 per cent being below fifteen years of age (29 per cent for the United States). There are fewer persons in the first ten years of life than in any other ten-year period up to sixty-five; there are fewer children under ten than men and women between fifty-five and sixty-four years of age, a very unusual age distribution. Obviously, Pasadena would have a declining population were it not for the constant influx of adults.

Like other residential suburbs Pasadena is a woman's town

(a hundred females to eighty males), partly because it is an ideal resort for women of independent income, partly because of the heavy demand for domestic servants. Native white citizens comprize 78 per cent of the population; foreign-born white a mere 13, and Negroes 4 per cent, with Mexicans ranking only slightly below the Negro. Most of the foreign-born have a northern European background and come chiefly from England, Canada, the Scandinavian countries, and Germany.

Industry has small place in this city, only 12 per cent of the working population being engaged in manufacturing and mechanical trades, and these chiefly in small industries such as pottery works, furniture and art crafts, and printing establishments. Trade occupies a fifth of the workers and exclusive shops enjoy a lucrative business with a wealthy clientele. Fifteen per cent of the gainfully employed are in professional service. Such a population as Pasadena's demands a large number of doctors, nurses, teachers, and preachers. The character of the town is particularly well revealed by the fact that one-fifth of the workers are in domestic and personal service, nearly half of all employed women being so classified. All aspects of the occupational as well as of other data mark off Pasadena as a typical example of the superior residential suburb.

The Future of the Residential Suburb

Wherever cities have existed, small suburban communities have flourished around the periphery. As the city grows, more and more prestige is attached to living in the outskirts. It is only within the past fifty years, however, that large residential suburbs the size of Mediopolis have come into existence. As is the case with all forms of social differentiation, this type of city does not arise until the metropolis grows so large that such specialized communities can be maintained. These suburbs, which give social prestige and provide opportunity for more enjoyable living than is to be found in the adjacent city, develop along with the latter and are dependent on it for their continued existence.

The future of the residential suburb, then, is inextricably bound up with that of the metropolis itself. The continued growth of the central city, with the resultant outward movement of population from its more congested areas, furnishes a constant source for suburban growth, but will at the same time gradually alter the function of the suburb. As the latter expands in population it begins to lose its exclusiveness, the wealthier people move onward and are followed by some of the persons dependent on them for jobs. As they leave for smaller and more restricted communities, white-collar workers come in, the number of apartment houses increases and the number of servants declines. It is this change from private residence to apartment house which constitutes one of the chief problems for the church in the residential suburb.

With its own distinctive type of specialization, such a suburb is forever attempting to keep itself isolated from the great city and immune from the unsavory political and social reputation of the metropolis, but is forever being drawn closer and closer within the sphere of urban influence by its economic dependence and because of its own desirability from the standpoint of aspiring metropolitans. One by one residential suburbs have been almost literally swallowed up by the ever extending city. Hyde Park, now in Chicago, was once a quiet, delightful community of homes which voted to come into the city only on condition that its scruples be respected and liquor stores be kept out of the prohibition districts, covering about eight square miles of the town. Because of the proximity of the University of Chicago many of the traits of the old Hyde Park still remain, but these constitute simply a vague undertone to the great roar of the rushing city. As old suburbs disappear new ones are being formed, for those who have the means continue to pursue the advantages which are attached to the more exclusive residential community. Many of the people who gave Mount Vernon, Malden, Lakewood, and Oak Park their delightful cultural atmosphere have already moved on to less crowded regions, not yet profaned by the presence of

hoi polloi. Only a few palatial homes, such as gave these cities their reputation, are now being built within them; apartment houses are replacing single-family dwellings and spacious private grounds are being subdivided into fifty-foot lots. *Sic transit gloria.*

7

The Resort City: The Playtown of the Nation

AMONG the most interesting of American cities are those which specialize in helping the weary businessman to forget the pressure of affairs and the club-worn society matron to relax. The delightful promenades, with a border of brightly lighted and attractive shops, intriguing auction rooms where the " rarest of fancy laces and linens are sold for a fraction of their true worth," afford a distraction from the routine of life. The palate as well as the eye is tempted. In short, the inhabitants of resort cities have as their one great industry the entertainment and refreshment of the visiting guest.

When Mediopolis appears in the role of resort city it is more akin to the commercial and the residential suburb than to either type of industrial city. Like the commercial center and even more like the exclusive suburb, it depends primarily on trade and personal services rather than on manufacturing for its income. If employment in industry be taken as the criterion for classification of urban types, the industrial suburb stands at the one extreme, the commercial city in central position, and the resort, with a minimum of such activity, at the opposite end. Unlike the commercial city, the resort city depends for its trade and prosperity not on the purchasing power of the hinterland, but on the surplus earnings which vacationists from far-distant cities and rural areas contribute to its economy.

Economic Basis of the Resort City

The resort city is one of the many specialized agencies developed in modern America. Only where there is procurable a surplus over and above the necessities of life does any type of vacation become possible. Unless there were hundreds of thousands of persons who could afford vacations, resort cities would not exist. Mountain retreats and watering places have flourished from the time of the early Greeks to the present, for there have always been a few who could enjoy the leisure made possible by the labor of the masses. The upper one per cent might account for a Bar Harbor in our day, but it could not give rise to a Coney Island or an Atlantic City. Never before has there been so large a proportion of society which could enjoy a vacation period of two weeks or more. The middle class Englishman, who thinks himself lucky to be able to spend two week ends in the country, hears with amazement and considerable envy of his cousin in America who complains of having only two weeks away from the office. Although most workers in industry have not had vacations with pay, thousands of business concerns are beginning to change their practice in this regard. The trend will probably continue and will doubtless give rise to more resort cities.

These cities by their very nature do not develop a population of a half million or more. Indeed, they rarely rise to even the fifty thousand level, for if a city with resort resources should approach the hundred thousand mark it would begin to lose much of the attractiveness which causes people to enjoy it as a resort and would tend to become just another commercial city. Vacationists would then prefer to patronize the smaller adjacent communities which still specialized on the resort pattern. Since a resort is usually "on the edge of things" and transportation to the market is more costly, the location which is ideal for a resort community is generally unsatisfactory for industrial development. Further, its high rate of mobility, with shortage of labor in the

rush season, discourages industrialists from locating there. A factory can operate more smoothly in a less stimulating and volatile community. Industrial development thus being precluded, a large year-round population cannot be supported and therefore is not attracted.

The resort city does not make an appeal to everyone who has a two-week vacation. Many prefer the open road and the tourist cabin; others go to the national parks, to lodges and camps in mountain or wilderness. There are great numbers of city dwellers, however, who are not attracted by the open spaces and feel more at home in a resort community which is essentially urban in character. In addition there are throngs of rural and small-town people who look forward to a thrilling week at some spot where there are bright lights, theaters, gaily decorated shop windows, and a crowded beach. Naturally such a resort must be readily accessible by means of good transportation service. A sizable city for vacationists could not develop far removed from centers of population, as among the lakes of northern Wisconsin or Minnesota, partly because such districts do not attract the masses of people and partly because of the relative isolation and inaccessibility of such a region to the densely populated areas of the Atlantic coast.

Types of Resort Cities

Vacations are of different types, and so are resorts. People who are free for Saturday afternoon and evening or whose vacations are limited, because of the nature of their work and their finances, to a one-day "spree" patronize such a place as Coney Island. Few New Yorkers go to Atlantic City for one day because of the time and expense involved, but for Philadelphians Atlantic City serves as a one-day resort center. Most of the visitors in Atlantic City, however, are there for a one- or two-week period. It therefore attracts a somewhat different clientele than does Coney Island. They both invite patronage in the summer,

when the average industrial or clerical worker has his holiday and the middle classes and the masses enjoy their one vacation of the year.

Miami, however, attracts the two-vacation-a-year people, those who can afford a respite during the winter season also. Though the business executive himself cannot leave his office, he may send his wife or daughter south to avoid the rigors of the northern climate. The society pages of the metropolitan dailies have done much to make winter vacations popular, giving attention as they do to the elite who can bask in the southern sun, while those who stay at home read the paper and, as they busily stoke the furnace or go to work in a cold elevated train, envy the more fortunate ones. Similar publicity is not given to the summertime vacationists in popular resorts, for during the summer the two-vacation people are supplying the society pages with copy on either their European travels or their exploits in some more exclusive mountain resort. The appeal of Miami then is in general to a different economic class; this accounts for the numerous important differences between Atlantic City and Miami in atmosphere and institutions.

On the opposite side of the continent there is a resort city which has a still different pattern. San Diego, in the southwestern corner of the nation, is a prosperous city of a hundred fifty thousand. Because of its distance from the chief population centers of the United States it is beyond the reach of those who have only a short vacation. In the wintertime it competes to a certain extent with Miami as a resort for the two-vacation-a-year people. Yet even then it is under a handicap because of its distance from the populous northeastern section of the nation. Its relatively cool summer temperature attracts to it many tourists during that season. However, the distinctive character of San Diego is due to neither of these two groups, but rather to the large number of men and women who have gone west to retire in this genial climate. The percentage of persons sixty-five years of age and over in San Diego is about twice the average for the nation as

a whole, or for such municipalities as Atlantic City or Miami. Because of the presence of this large number of elderly people who are in the city as permanent residents, not as transients, and also because of the commercial features added as the city has expanded, the typical resort atmosphere is less evident. Were it not for the fact that one of the principal bases of the United States Navy is located at San Diego and that there are always thousands of young men in and about town, the city would have a still more quiet and circumspect appearance.

In Miami and Atlantic City the persons who are most in evidence are the transients. They arrive, have dealings with the "natives," enjoy themselves for a time, and return home. They do not mingle socially with the local people and there is a definite distinction between the outsiders and the townsfolk. In San Diego many of the people of leisure have settled down to stay; they have bought a little home and become identified with the local community. Many are active in the churches and civic enterprises and think of themselves as participants in the local life, not as sight-seers. Here, then, is an interesting contrast between three types of resort: Atlantic City, with a summertime clientele and accommodations ranging from pretentious hotels facing the boardwalk to humble housekeeping rooms several blocks from the ocean; Miami, with its more exclusive wintertime patronage; and San Diego, which in addition to its attraction for winter and summer visitors persuades retiring oldsters by the thousands to choose it as a permanent home.

Social Traits

In spite of these differences, however, all resort cities possess certain traits in common. The native white population is dominant, whether the city be located in the north or the south, the east or the west. It is not surprising that there are few foreign-born; these settle in the great metropolitan districts where industries offer better employment opportunities to those who have not yet mastered the language or secured enough reserve to own

a shop or a rooming house. Yet each resort city does have a large group of domestic servants, hotel porters, attendants, waitresses, and others who constitute a more humble economic class. Atlantic City and Miami have approximately the same percentage of Negro population, a fourth of the total. In San Diego eight per cent of the inhabitants are Mexicans. These are among the people who perform the more menial tasks.

Such cities have a high literacy rate and the educational opportunities are at least equal to the average offered in the United States. San Diego, as is the case with most western cities, has an unusually large proportion of its children attending high school and college.

Resort cities are a haven for those whose home life has been disrupted by death or divorce and, as the census figures show, a relatively high percentage of both men and women in these communities are either widowed or divorced. This is particularly true of San Diego, which has a higher proportion of older persons (and therefore more who have been widowed) and which is in a section of the country where divorce is accepted more complacently.

In occupations also these three cities have marked similarities. Apart from the large number employed in domestic and personal service, which is a characteristic of the type, the chief occupational classification is trade, about one in five persons being so employed. This average is about the same as in commercial cities. Since there are few industries in resort communities, the percentage employed in manufacturing is about one-half that found in commercial cities and a quarter of that in industrial centers. Because of the constant demand for changes in tourist quarters, erection and repair of hotels, redecoration of buildings, more men are employed in the building trades in resort cities than in any other urban type. One might expect that in such communities, as in residential suburbs, there would be many professional people. However, this is not the case, Atlantic City and Miami having a smaller proportion in these elite occupations than commercial

TABLE VI

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION IN RESORT CITIES

By Per Cent

Occupation	Atlantic City	Miami	San Diego
Agriculture & Forestry	.5	3.5	3.6
Building	8.7	10.7	7.7
Manufacturing, Mechanical & Extraction	10.9	13.2	14.4
Transportation & Communication	7.9	8.2	6.7
Trade	16.7	20.8	20.2
Public Service	3.3	2.0	13.3
Professional Service	7.0	7.9	10.3
Domestic & Personal Service	37.2	25.5	14.7
Clerical	7.7	8.2	9.1
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0
Per cent of gainfully employed who are females	34.7	30.6	25.4

cities, while San Diego rates somewhat higher; all three fall considerably below the proportion found in residential suburbs. This would seem to indicate that the higher standards of living which make it possible for tourists to visit the resorts are not shared to any great degree by the people who live there all the year round.

As has been pointed out, the cities which have been included within this type show interesting variations from one another. For instance, in San Diego one in every eight of the residents is engaged in public service. This is six or seven times the average, and is accounted for by the seven thousand men in the army, navy and marine corps. More persons are also employed as teachers, since a larger proportion of the children continue their education after the age of sixteen. There are more doctors, partly because of the unusual number of older people, partly because living standards generally seem to be somewhat higher. At the same time however there are not as many employed in domestic and personal service; this is evidence that there are fewer transients and that there are many middle class homes whose relatively simple needs are met without difficulty by the housewife.

In Atlantic City, where there is more transiency than in any other municipality included within the scope of this study, over one-third of the entire employed population is engaged in domestic and personal service. Practically all who are able-bodied and of an employable age can find work in meeting the needs of the visitors. Over two-thirds of all the men and women between the ages of fifteen and sixty-five were gainfully employed at the time the last census was taken. This is the highest percentage of employed for any of the sample cities in the study. Atlantic City may be called the acme of the resort type of Mediopolis.

The City of the Boardwalk

Atlantic City frankly sets out to be the convention center and the amusement capital of America. From the time of its incorporation in 1854 until the present it has been a resort com-

munity. With its extended bathing beach and boardwalk, its myriad hotels, its ocean piers, theaters and motion picture palaces, its countless shops and concessions, it has both the natural setting and the man-made artifices to drive dull care away. Although the permanent population is only seventy thousand the city takes care of an estimated twelve million visitors per year. Approximately twelve hundred hotels, some pretentious in size and structure, others quite humble, cater to the needs of these people. In addition, there are many rooming and boarding houses, organized on a simpler plan to serve those with slimmer purses.

While Atlantic City is a mecca for conventions throughout the year, the tourist influx comes between June and September; it is particularly for the summer that Atlantic City grooms itself. Then the city of homes becomes a city of transients. Cars from every state of the union are parked along the streets and in the yards of the private homes whose rooms have been rented. Most of the local families look forward to this period, refurbishing as many rooms as can be spared to rent to outsiders; for this is an easy means of supplementing the family income. Even homes six or more blocks away from the ocean are able to secure their quota of roomers, so great is the demand for sleeping quarters. The focus of interest is the beach and the well advertised boardwalk, which extends for eight miles along the water front. This promenade, sixty feet wide and bordered with shops of all descriptions, is the main artery so far as resort life is concerned. In the season most people whom one sees on the streets, whether clad in beach costume or street wear, are going to or from it.

Partly because of its vacation aspect and partly because of its excellent hotel accommodations, conventions by the score are held at Atlantic City. In any one week as many as ten to twenty-five organizations may be holding their annual meetings in one of the hotels or the great convention hall. This hall, which Atlantic City claims to be the world's largest, has a total seating capacity of forty-one thousand. Impressed by the constant stream of people from all parts of the United States who pass this way

and have a few idle hours or days to spend, many manufacturing and merchandising organizations which appeal to the national market maintain permanent boardwalk displays.

Every aspect of Atlantic City life is influenced by the major emphasis on catering to the visitors. For example, four out of ten who are gainfully employed are engaged in domestic or personal service, earning their living in the numerous hotels, operating laundry and pressing services, pushing wheel chairs on the boardwalk, and so forth. The dominance of the hotel, with its opportunities for work, is reflected in the larger number of women (a 20 per cent excess in the ages fifteen through twenty-nine) in the city's population. Where there are so many opportunities for employment in domestic service (always a low-paid group of occupations) people from lower income groups are attracted, while white-collar workers prefer to locate in another city. This accounts in considerable measure for the number of Negroes (23.6 per cent) and for the number of foreign-born (15 per cent) in Atlantic City. The latter come chiefly from Russia, Italy, England, Ireland, and Germany. The majority of those who are of Russian or German extraction are Jewish. Many of these operate rooming houses or run small concessions.

The home in a resort city plays a less important role than in other urban centers. There is too much going and coming, the mobility rate is too high, for the most stable relations to be maintained. The wife who is operating a rooming house is so busy performing the tasks of housekeeper that she has less time for rearing a family. One indication of this is that in Atlantic City only 20 per cent of the total population is under fifteen years of age, compared with an average of 26 per cent for the cities of the nation.

While Atlantic City caters to those who have an economic surplus to spend in recreational activities, the residents themselves enjoy few of the luxuries which they provide for others. Their occupations are not the most remunerative, roomers interfere with the privacy of their homes, and somewhat fewer of the young

people continue their education beyond high school than in most American cities. Atlantic City may be likened to a one-industry town, whose business consists in catering to the interests and well-being of the visitors. Because of the nature of this industry there are countless odd jobs, suited to the varying abilities of children of different ages: pushing wheel chairs, setting up bowling pins, serving as bellboys or waitresses, renting beach chairs and umbrellas, or assisting parents in the family shop or rooming house. These work opportunities doubtless present a constant temptation to young people to neglect further schooling and " earn an honest penny."

Atlantic City, the resort town par excellence, is a hive of busy workers throughout the summer, when the residents labor for long hours, earning most of their living during the four-month season. Their own rest period comes during the winter months. This abnormal organization of the local culture pattern presents a set of difficult problems for the church or any other institution which seeks to build itself into the community.

The Future of the Resort City

One may think of the resort city as a product of the machine age. As the machine increases production and gradually frees man from drudgery, real wages tend to rise and a margin for better living is created. More persons are able to enjoy vacation periods. Travel facilities improve, resorts prosper.

Like the industrial suburb, though at the opposite end of the production line, the resort city suffers disastrously during a depression period. The luxuries of life are eliminated from the budget, and holidays and travel are, for the majority, luxuries. Nevertheless, the outlook for resort communities is bright. Governments the world over, whether they be democratic, fascist, or communist, whether they restrict freedom of speech or permit it, have discovered the importance of the common, garden variety citizen. The program of the state is increasingly designed to protect him, either in democratic or in paternalistic fashion.

Labor trends in this country give definite evidence that militant trade unions will be able to enforce not only collective bargaining but also, in due course, vacations with pay. In other lands, including Russia and Germany, the importance of rest and recreation is being recognized and resorts established and vacation tours organized, expenses frequently being paid by the government itself. The expectation may well be, therefore, that many resorts will be developed and that not a few will grow to the size of Mediopolis. To be sure, the increase of cities of this type and their prosperity gives no assurance that the institutions of religion will fare equally well. Indeed, the problem of the church in the resort community is one of the most complicated facing organized religion in America.

PART TWO

THE CHURCH IN ITS COMMUNITY

8

The Church Grows Up with Its City

IT IS OUT of human needs that institutions arise. W. I. Thomas has referred to the deep-seated longings of man as the basic social forces; and such they are. In response to these inherent desires found in mankind everywhere arise those agencies which protect and which give opportunity for personal and group self-realization. These basic longings have been described as the desire for security, mental and spiritual as well as economic; the desire for new and enlarging experiences; the desire for love, affection, response; and the desire for recognition and status in the eyes of one's fellows. Out of these great and universal desires has arisen the institution which we call the family; the same drives inherent within man find expression in the state, the school, and the church. This last institution is indeed an aspect and an evidence of man's striving for spiritual reality, his craving for one particular kind of security, the desire to feel at home in the world about him. More than this, the local church offers fellowship, an opportunity for self-expression, a measure of social status, and perhaps the zest of a great spiritual adventure.

The social group, arising out of the interrelationships of people, is primary to all our social institutions. The community does not exist for the sake of the public school any more than man exists for the Sabbath. Similarly the church owes its being to the community, and not vice versa. The church, like virtue, can never exist in the abstract; it has its rise in community life and depends on the community for its support. It is an important

and integral part of the American scene precisely because it has been measurably successful in assisting men and women in the solution of some of their important life problems and in the satisfaction of various personal and social cravings.

The church is one of the important institutions which comprise the American heritage. It has followed as a matter of course that when a new community is being formed the leaders plan to organize a church in much the same manner as they establish a local public school, though perhaps with less unanimity. It is expected that one public school will be adequate to meet the needs of a village. There is no such consensus when the church is under discussion, for denominations still tend to be sectarian in their attitude. In theory each is tolerant of the other and wishes general cooperation. In actual practice, however, the observer is impressed by the unwillingness of churchmen in many a local community to compromise. Each denomination feels "responsible" for having the good work go forward under its own auspices. While this is less true now than it was fifty years ago, the effects of the earlier policy are still in evidence, and towns of one thousand inhabitants are commonly served by eight or more churches, each one desperately struggling to maintain a foothold.

How Population Traits Affect the Church

Some of these religious differences represent marked contrasts in the general cultural background of the people. For example, the traditions and training of the Polish immigrants are definitely Roman Catholic; consequently when many Poles reside in a town it is to be expected that they will support a strong Catholic church. Similarly, those of north German stock call for a Lutheran church, while the Dutch favor the Reformed churches. The more generations a family has been resident in this country and the more assimilated its members are to the general American culture, the less significant from a *cultural* standpoint are denominational differences. These are often maintained because of loyalty

to family tradition and to the social inheritance of various preferences and prejudices, rather than because of any sharp doctrinal difference. Even when denominational authorities effect a comity arrangement whereby certain churches will withdraw in favor of others, there is often intense resentment on the part of some local members over such a " desertion."

When however the village, aided by its natural location or by fortuitous circumstances, begins to develop rapidly, most of the churches located within one or two blocks of the town square thrive, increasing in membership and also in influence. Those prosper which are favored by the new accessions to the population. During the first stages of the city's expansion, the newcomers are chiefly from the surrounding hamlets and rural areas and have much the same social background and religious preference as are evidenced in the town itself. Grand Rapids, which has grown up in a section of the country settled by Hollanders, is therefore a stronghold for the Dutch Reformed and Evangelical churches. Des Moines is still benefiting from the early work of the Methodist circuit riders. The people who move into Salt Lake City from surrounding towns find the Mormon dominance very congenial, for that whole area was originally settled by the Latter-day Saints. If by chance an industrial corporation selects a town as the site for its factories, then people will be attracted from a wider area. While some come from the immediate hinterland many will be imported directly from the large city's labor market, and what was once a Protestant town may become a dominantly Catholic city.

In this way the population growth tends to shape the religious life of the community and to determine which organizations will prosper and which will remain static. It should be noted that other factors are also important: the number of church members, their age and sex distribution, their social and financial status in the community and their leadership abilities, the personality and skills of the minister, the effectiveness of the church organization and the adequacy of its building. Many of these are im-

ponderable factors whose influence, while significant, is difficult to measure. Even a little shift in population will cause one church to prosper and another to slide downhill. A change of ministers, the death or withdrawal of a few members, or an organizational conflict, and the church which was prospering may recede from its dominant position, while another moves forward to take its place.

As the city develops, the area which is tributary to it expands and the institutions of the city also become stronger and more influential. As the high school draws children from surrounding regions, so too do the churches. This is particularly true of those in which there is a strong and effective leadership, since they are best able to utilize the growing dominance of the city in the region for the strengthening of their program and the promotion of their own prestige. After a city reaches twenty-five or fifty thousand population, its own internal structure becomes much more complicated and only a few of the churches continue to exert an influence beyond the municipal boundaries — although it should be noted that the city then covers a larger area, incorporating many sections which were formerly outside the town but tributary to it.

First Church versus the Community Church

Until a city reaches a population of five thousand it is served almost entirely by the " first " churches which were originally built near the center of the crossroads settlement and are now usually one to three blocks away from the courthouse square. An inevitable accompaniment of continued growth is the development first of local neighborhoods in different sections of the town and later of distinct and self-conscious communities. Within these, new churches will be started, possibly under the sponsorship of the " first " church of the same denomination or perhaps on the initiative of a few earnest persons who wish to have a local Sunday school for the sake of their own and the neighbors' children. Such small missions or community churches operate

for a period of time on a very modest budget, maintaining perhaps only a Sunday school program, with occasional meetings for adults. The frame structure in which the sessions are held is inexpensive to maintain and not particularly attractive. Most persons prefer to hold their membership in the downtown church even after the neighborhood institution decides to try to support a full-time minister.

These small, struggling chapels frequently play the role of stepchildren in the larger family of churches. The "first" church, established from ten to fifty years earlier, owns a good plot of ground near the center of the growing city and boasts an imposing sanctuary and a commodious parish house; it has had time to pay off most of its debt. It is larger in membership, has greater resources, is able to secure the services of a higher paid and therefore presumably more able or experienced minister, and perhaps a paid staff as well. In its roster are usually listed the personages of the city, the old-timers, the owners of well established businesses, and the professional people.

Against this church, for a decade or more, the little community chapel in one of the newer sections of town has no advantages, except that it is nearer and therefore more accessible to the children and has the flavor of the local community; here one can meet and worship with his neighbors. These modest assets do not attract the majority of persons, even those whose homes are in the same block with the church; they are attracted by the greater resources and the more worshipful sanctuary as well as the social contacts to be found downtown. Naturally the "first" church continues to grow in size and prestige. Most of the persons moving into the city and joining a religious organization by transfer of membership elect the "downtown" church, as it is beginning to be called, for their spiritual home.

This situation is the cause of no little tension and conflict in the city's organized religious life. The pastor of the larger church, noting the slow growth of the "stepchild," may conclude that the minister in that church must be inefficient, lazy, or a poor

organizer, little realizing to what an extent the social situation operates in his own favor. Convinced that the smaller institution is not meeting the needs in that particular area, and recognizing that his own church has members there, he may request his governing board to hire an additional worker so that these people may be served.

Tension is felt even more keenly in the smaller church, and not infrequently the local minister is somewhat annoyed by his " big brother " in the pastorate. Writes one indignant minister serving such a church:

> The preacher at First Church has persuaded his board to rent a bus to travel through our whole community picking up children to take them to his Sunday school, even taking some from the block in which our little church is located. And then he has the nerve to talk about " our Christian brotherhood " and " our common task." Competition within our denomination in our town is as cutthroat as in any business game.

By the time churches are being established in the outlying portions of the small city, the outward movement of residences from the center of town has already begun. Long before a city is able to boast in its chamber of commerce literature that it has " a quarter of a hundred thousand population " private homes have disappeared from the main business section. A few of the churches have also moved away, selling at a profit the old site, which will now be used for a department store, theater, or hotel. A less expensive location can be obtained some blocks away and a more modern edifice erected. Most of the original churches, however, remain in or on the fringe of the developing business district, and continue to grow in strength, even though their members are scattered through all parts of the city and may now have to come by car.

As the city continues to expand, the various outlying communities give evidence as to what their future development will be. They are achieving character, becoming individualized. A type

of informal and more or less unplanned segregation begins to take effect. The section across the river on the high land is being pre-empted by " successful " young businessmen who are building pretentious homes there. To the southwest there is a middle class development, while to the southeast on the lower land and nearer the factories a newly self-conscious community of Italians is found. In the latter area the Protestant societies are weak, but in the other sections of the city they are replacing their small frame edifices with larger and more beautiful permanent structures. Even yet people are chary of membership in the neighborhood congregation, for debts are heavy and each new recruit is confronted with the responsibility of sharing in the financial burden. The advantages of the downtown churches with their well oiled organization and stable financial structure prove to be an even greater attraction for some people than they were before.

Mobility Creates a Pattern

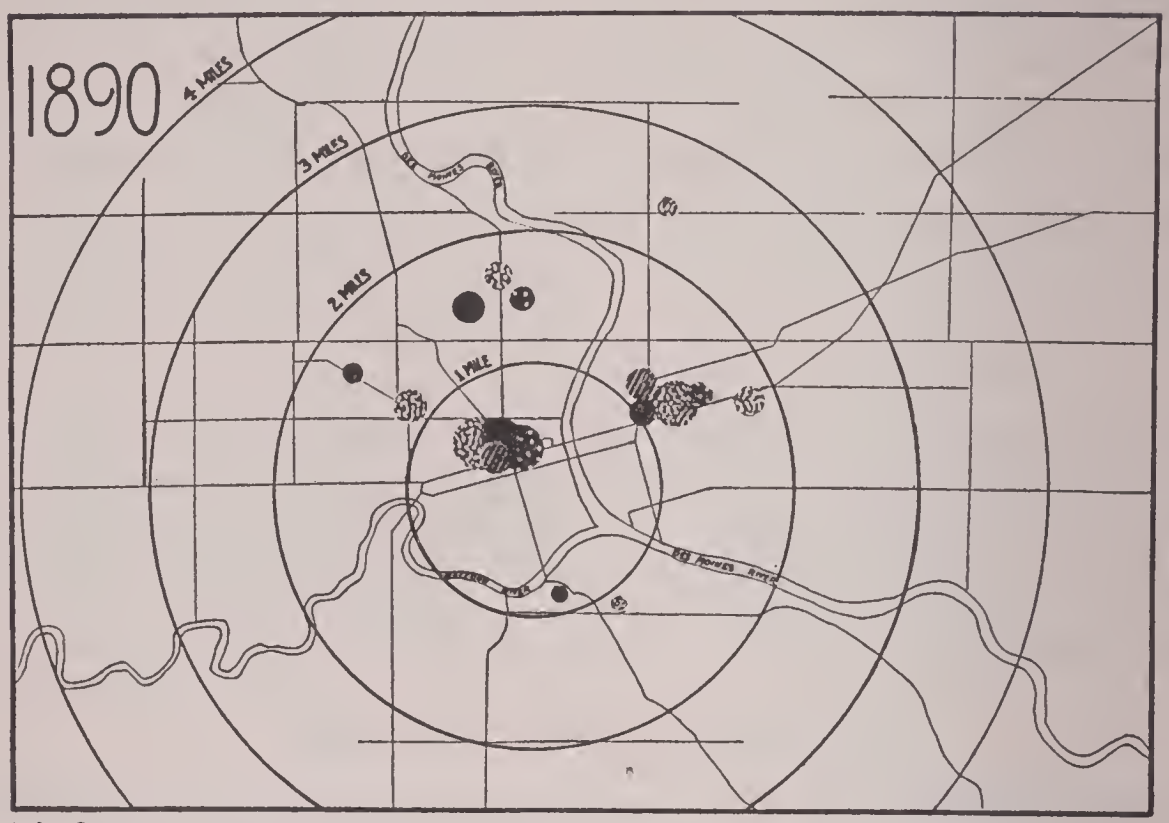
Somewhere between the time when a city reaches a population of fifty thousand and when it arrives at the hundred fifty thousand mark (i. e., within the population class of Mediopolis) certain crucial changes take place both within the structure of the city itself and in the life of the churches, tied as they are to the city's development. Formerly the residents thought in terms of the total city, and neighborhood differences were of minor significance. With increasing density of population, the various communities, and with them their local institutions, begin to attain selfhood. In the city of less than fifty thousand people the pattern is relatively simple and religious leadership is centralized. By the time the city has tripled in size its social and also its religious organization have become surprisingly like those of the complex, multi-communitied metropolis. As this change (described in detail in chapter 2) takes place, the church which was once a Cinderella puts on the glass slipper. It now has a more beautiful building, whose new limestone exterior stands

CHURCH GROWTH AND CHANGE

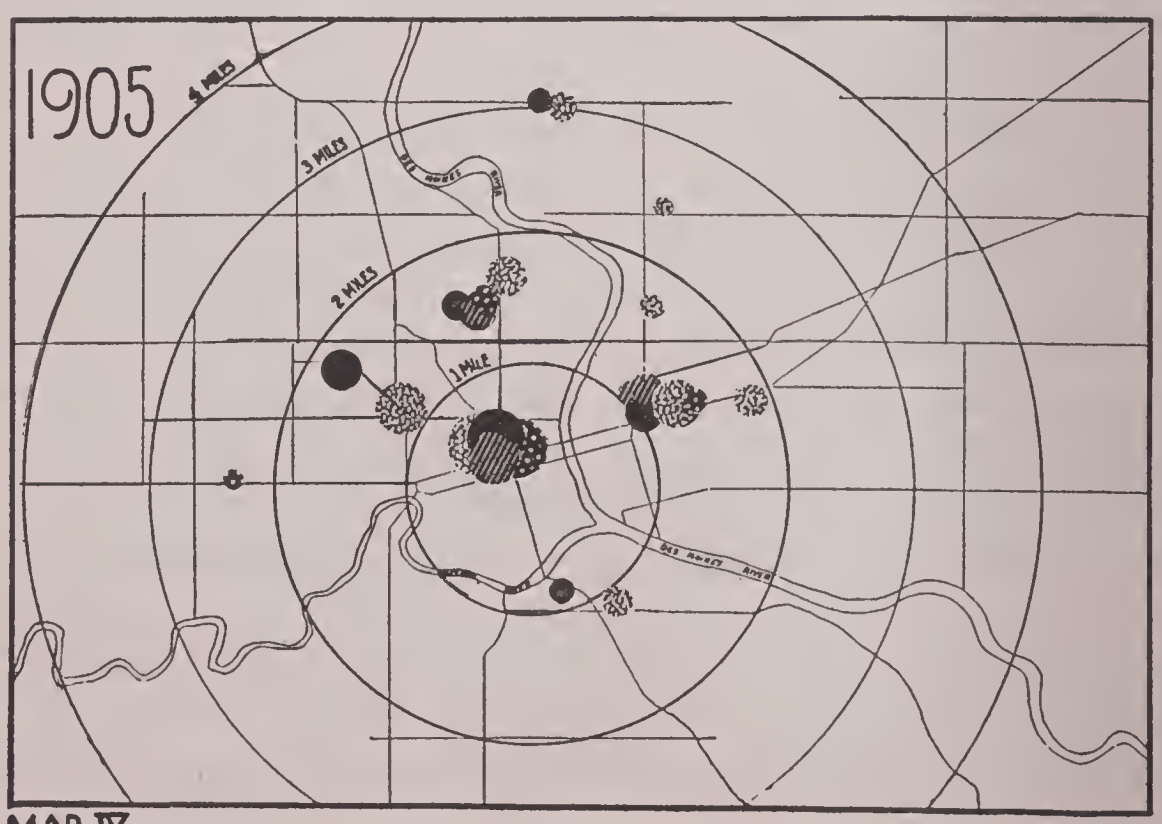
IN DES MOINES 1890-1935

FOUR PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS (WHITE)

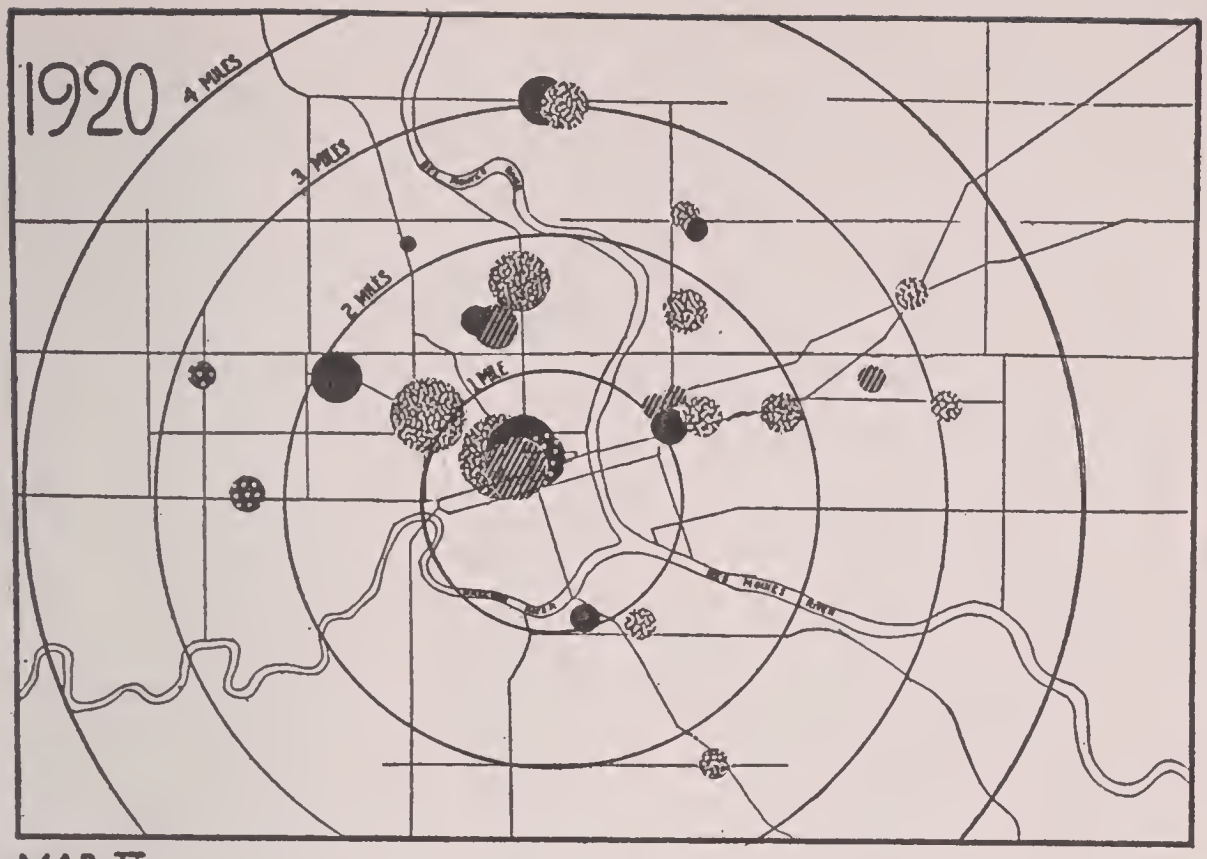
LEGEND BELOW 1935 MAP



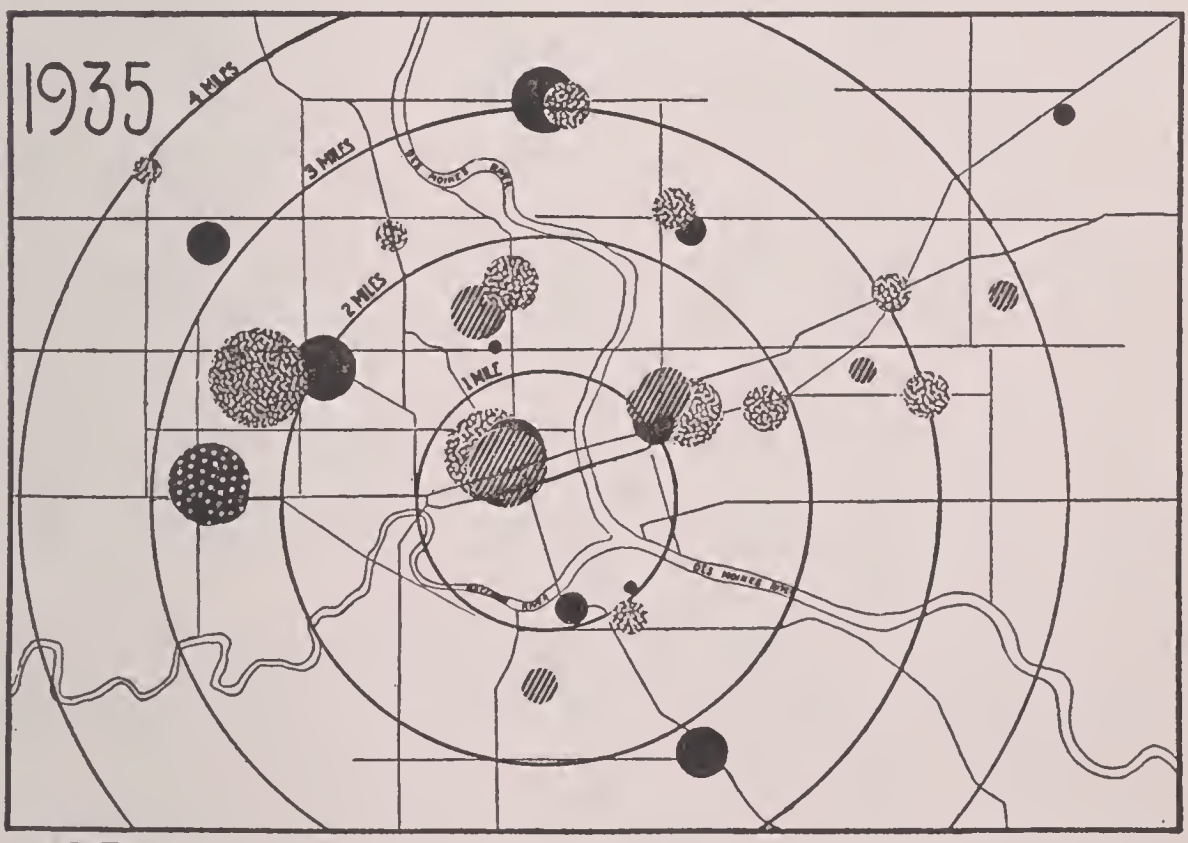
MAP III



MAP IV



MAP V



MAP VI

DENOMINATIONS

BAPTIST
METHODIST
CONGREGA'L
PRESBYT'N

SIZE OF MEMBERSHIP

100
500
250
1000

CENTER OF CIRCLE = LOCATION OF CHURCH

in pleasing contrast to the old, dingy, red-brick structure in which the " first " church has been housed for these many years. Some of the long-time adherents of the central church are finding that it is after all more convenient to join the institution two blocks from home. Their young people prefer to attend locally, where they see their school and neighborhood friends. And so, at long last, memberships are transferred.

The forces which once operated in favor of the central church are gradually set against it. Once the great strong focus of the religious life of the denomination for the whole county, it now is beginning to yield its place of prestige to two or three of the younger churches. The passage of the years and the further development of the city may, in the course of several decades, turn this church which was once the dependable source for missionary funds into a recipient of home missionary aid, while the churches originally established as small Sunday school missions have grown larger than the mother congregation and are now giving the latter financial assistance. One by one most of the old downtown churches either move out into a suburban location, frequently entering into open competition with another society of their own denomination already established there, or sell their property and dissolve as a corporate organization, the scattered members joining the church nearest them. This pattern of church mobility occasioned by the outward movement of population is rarely complete until the city has attained the half-million mark. However, the crucial change is initiated and well under way while the city is in the range of Mediopolis.

The accompanying maps illustrate clearly what takes place in the institutions of religion as a city grows from fifty to a hundred fifty thousand, as Des Moines did between 1890 and 1935. This city has two groups of central churches, best seen on the map of 1890. The " first " churches are located toward the west, close to the central business district; the group to the east clusters about the state capitol. Community churches had been established at an earlier period and some had grown to a membership

of three hundred, but they were overshadowed by the downtown institutions. The maps for 1905 and 1920 demonstrate that the older societies continued to grow, but the rate of development for community churches accelerated. By 1935 one of the first churches has moved out beyond the two-mile zone and a second shows a declining membership. Two continue to register a growth. One of those near the state capitol has also disappeared; the others have grown, one chiefly because of a merger. The community churches are now entering a period of rapid expansion and the forces operating against them in 1890 are turned in their favor. The churches of Des Moines are again becoming community institutions located in residence districts, drawing much of their membership from the immediate vicinity; like the old "first" churches in the earlier days of the city, they are serving chiefly the people in the local area. Out on the periphery younger societies are gaining a foothold. So the process continues.

In a city of half a million people this shift has, for better or worse, been completely effected so far as the downtown denominational churches are concerned. In some cities not a single regularly organized church remains in the downtown area, although a few specialized congregations may cling to its fringes. In others, one or two weak, moribund churches struggle along, uncertain whether they can survive for a year or a decade. When the few loyal men and women for whom such an institution is a beloved cause die, it too will probably cease to be. In certain other great cities there is a stalwart church which has weathered the storms and continues to minister in the heart of the business district. It has survived so long that now the members of the denomination, who are scattered far and wide, regard its continuance as symbolic of the triumph of the cross over the city, take pride in it and stand ready to give financial aid if need be. To be sure, its membership is now smaller than formerly and there are fewer young people in the church school. It ministers to a larger number of transients, chiefly single men and women, and to fewer family groups. Its function has changed, yet its influence on and

contribution to the religious life of the city may have increased. Its financial needs are partially met through endowment, missionary aid or, perhaps, income from some business block or office building which it owns.

Specialization in the Churches of Mediopolis

Returning to Mediopolis, one finds a few specialized religious organizations being established near the center of the city. Since their clientele is small and sprinkled over the town the most accessible point for the membership is that which is best linked to the different communities of the city: the downtown area. If there is an Ethical Society it will probably be found here. This is the best place for the Friends' meetinghouse. When the city was smaller there were too few Quakers to support a separate church. If there are a number of deaf-mutes, they can more easily come from their homes in various districts to share in a service downtown. The growth of the city makes possible such religious specialization, just as it does specialization in business, in the professions and in social welfare agencies. In this way a few religious organizations, each with a small and scattered constituency, perhaps conducting only one or two meetings a week and not attempting to operate as full-fledged churches, come to have their locus in or near the central business district. This development takes place at the very time that the downtown churches of the larger denominations are finding it more and more difficult to continue. Salt Lake City presents a peculiar illustration of this pattern: the church of the Latter-day Saints is dominant; Protestant denominations are weak. Practically the only effective Protestant churches are those which are centrally located and have a city-wide membership.

Within the stronger communions which have a number of churches in the growing city of Mediopolis another type of specialization is taking place. A mission chapel is being opened in the Italian community and a second-generation Italian convert to

Protestantism has been appointed pastor. On the other side of town is a residential area which was once considered high class, but the older families have moved out and unskilled and semi-skilled workers with various racial backgrounds have moved in. A number of the churches have been withdrawn, partly because the people of the community were unresponsive (to the conventional program) and partly because the institution could be sustained only with liberal use of missionary funds. A couple of the vacated buildings have been taken over by the revivalistic sects — the Nazarenes, the Four-Square Gospelers, or similar organizations. With their more emotional appeal and their greater assurance concerning the answers to all of life's spiritual questions, they appear to secure a response not enjoyed by the older society.

However, one denomination, determined not to withdraw from the area, has erected a parish house in which a seven-day-week program is carried forward. Various types of clubs and classes are open to the children of the neighborhood; a clinic offers medical and dental services two half-days a week; adult education classes attract the mature people of the community on Tuesday and Friday evenings; a summer camp in the country has also been established. In other words, an organization with a conventional program has been metamorphosed into an " institutional " church. It has recognized that unless it takes into account the distinctive traits and needs of the community it will gradually lose its *raison d'être.*

Such agencies as the Salvation Army, designed originally to rescue the down-and-out and to serve the homeless man, have a less important function in Mediopolis than in larger cities where social disorganization is more prevalent and where there is greater scope for the peculiar genius of rescue-work missions. When such an agency chances to settle in Mediopolis it is usually located within a lower economic class residential area and carries forward a program not very dissimilar to that of the regularly organized

churches which have successfully adapted their activities to the local community.

In other communities of the city a difference in the type of church is also noticeable. Some sections have what may be described as " workingmen's churches," operating on modest budgets and serving families with equally modest incomes. They are self-supporting and carry on the expected functions of the church: worship, religious education, women's and young people's activities, with perhaps a few added projects, such as a Boy Scout program. In another and wealthier community the church edifice is larger and more stately; the minister receives a higher salary and is frequently assisted by a paid staff. The program here as elsewhere, to be successful, must be based on the particular needs of the local area; for while people in all sections of the city share certain common religious interests, economic and social conditions will influence community expectations in the church program as well as in other aspects of the cultural life. In high class residential districts the people regard it as essential that the church be served by an " eminent " preacher, that the music be rendered by a professional quartet or choir. Less than this would be incommensurate with the dignity of their institution and community. Unfortunately the expectations of such people sometimes outrun their willingness to pay the required price, with the result that almost the entire budget is spent in maintaining the local organization, a far smaller percentage being devoted to benevolences than in the budget of some humbler churches.

It is after a city reaches the population of fifty thousand that distinctive changes take place in its community pattern. Instead of being one unified city it gradually becomes a number of distinct communities which, while they have some interests in common, live more and more within themselves. Such changes in the organization of the city and the development of local economic and cultural interests will influence the religious organizations. The skill and foresight demonstrated by the various

denominations and their churches in meeting these changing, specializing conditions in local communities will largely determine the future success or failure of organized religion in Mediopolis. Therefore this is a critical period in the life of the city and also of the church. Mediopolis stands at the half-way house between the small city and the metropolis.

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The Church in the Commercial City

THERE ARE many social forces which are active in every one of the mediopolitan types and which affect all religious institutions: the changing role of the family in society, the decline of the birth rate, the revolt of young people against parental controls and ideologies, the increased mobility and fluidity of population, the rise of secular agencies competing with the church for the time and interest of the people. *Within* this general and universal framework of change, the geographical setting and history of the particular city and its hinterland are of primary importance in understanding the peculiarities of the local religious pattern.

Although commercial cities show marked resemblance to one another, each has its own unique and distinguishing characteristics which are reflected in the religious life, just as in the political organization or the park system. Because commercial cities are found in all sections of the country there is greater diversity among them than among the cities in any of the other four urban types, which by their very nature are more specialized and therefore more uniform. Such differences have been illustrated in the vignettes of Wichita, Montgomery, and Duluth. Chattanooga, Salt Lake City, and Sacramento have equally distinct urban personalities. These unique traits are the result of geographic and historical factors which constitute the soil wherein social institutions such as the church grow or languish. The significance of these elements will be demonstrated by a brief consideration of the religious situation in a few commercial cities.

Influence of Regional and Urban Patterns on the Churches

Des Moines is not only the capital of Iowa; it is also the epitome of the state's culture. It has grown by the influx of young men and women from its own hinterland. Therefore Iowa can say to Des Moines, " You are bone of my bone and blood of my blood." The two have one common culture, a summary statement of which is given in the life of the capital. Naturally the attitudes, ideals, and interests of the rural and urban dwellers will be much the same. The residents of Des Moines are as much concerned with agricultural relief as are the farmers, and with reason. In like manner, the religious life of Des Moines is characterized by the same loyalties as is that of the hinterland. Since Iowa was settled during the middle of the past century by native white Americans from the northeastern portion of the United States and by immigrants who came chiefly from the Protestant sections of northern Europe, and since the later floods of Catholic migrants from central and southern Europe were not attracted by the agricultural economy of the state, Iowa has remained a Protestant stronghold, and so has Des Moines. It is therefore not surprising that in that city five out of every seven adults having some religious affiliation belong to the Methodist, Presbyterian, or Baptist denominations (listed in the order of their strength).

Very different in background is Duluth, which serves as the trading center of northern Minnesota and a portion of Wisconsin. This land was brought under cultivation by Germans and Scandinavians. Forty per cent of the people are immigrants or children of immigrants from Scandinavia, Finland, or Germany. The churches in their European homelands were chiefly Lutheran or Roman Catholic. Naturally these are the denominations which dominate the religious life of Duluth, the Roman Catholic and the Lutheran family of churches serving over half of the people who hold any church membership. As a result there is less

room in Duluth than in Des Moines for such denominations as the Baptist or Methodist.

The unique topography of Duluth is another factor shaping the local religious pattern. A shoestring city, it stretches in a narrow ribbon along the lake shore and is broken up by natural barriers into many small communities. This configuration makes it difficult for most denominations, which have a relatively small constituency, to develop a strong church serving a local community. Since people do not readily cross barriers to attend church an unusually large number of religious societies have been formed to cover the territory, with the result that many of them are stunted. Organized religion is still further handicapped in this city by conflicts between old nationality loyalties.*

El Paso is on an international boundary and has the mixture of cultures which characterizes a border city. Over half of the population is Mexican, and naturally the Roman Catholic Church is preeminent in the city. About two-thirds of all adults claiming any church affiliation are in this communion. The fact that El Paso is a city of two worlds, Mexican and American, makes inevitable much cultural tension and lack of social control. The ministers of the city are well aware of this problem. A number of them refer to the " rather low religious ideals of a border city." A second important factor influencing El Paso's religious life is the high rate of mobility. People keep coming and going, for the city, a tourist center and a health resort, is situated on one of the main transcontinental highways. For the churches this tourist traffic creates both a problem and an opportunity. A minister sometimes becomes discouraged at the tiresome, unrewarding routine of these touch-and-go contacts with transients (who frequently are in desperate need of spiritual as well as of material aid). He can continue to be effective in such work only provided he has the faith to believe that his ministrations are helpful to those whom he probably will never see again. These problems are not confined to any one denomination, and there is general

* See pp. 176 f.

agreement among the ministers that "religious work is slower and takes greater effort than in many communities."

Montgomery is typical of the commercial cities of the southeast. The south is historically Protestant, for most of the original white settlers, who came more than a century ago, had a British background. Population growth has been due principally to natural causes, excess of births over deaths. Very few of the European immigrants of the past century have drifted below the Mason-Dixon line. The inflow of central, southern, and eastern European migrants, which furnished the chief source of Catholic and Jewish strength for northern industrial cities, left the south untouched. The Negroes who were brought from Africa as slaves took over the white man's religious views. It is not surprising, then, that the churches of Montgomery, which has relied on Negro rather than on immigrant labor for its industries, are chiefly Protestant, among the colored as well as among the whites. In Montgomery as in the whole of the Old South the strong denominations are the Baptist and the Methodist. Over half of the churches belong to the one or the other of these denominational families.* All other communions fall far behind. Typical of the south, where religious traditions are more firmly fixed than elsewhere, Montgomery is a well churched city. Three-fourths of all persons thirteen years of age and over are affiliated with some church; this average is 50 per cent higher than in most cities. Practically four out of every five of these persons belong to the Baptist or Methodist denominations. The importance of the cultural traditions and religious precommitments of the people is at once manifest when one considers the lusty growth of these denominations in Montgomery and their anemia in Salt Lake City.

The city of Salt Lake is perhaps unique among important urban centers of the United States in that it was founded and

* "Family of churches" is a term employed by the United States Bureau of the Census to designate the various denominations which have much in common in historical development, polity and creed, and which are usually included under the generic term Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, etc.

developed by an organized religious body. The Latter-day Saints carefully planned the future development of both city and region. Their westward trek in 1846 and 1847 in pursuit of freedom to live by the principles of their religious faith led them to the Salt Lake valley, which they believed was the divinely appointed place to settle. Reared in the tradition of cooperation, mutual helpfulness and strict obedience, they worked as a unit to construct the log huts and till the soil — in short, to establish a community. As immigration brought in recruits by the thousands colonizing groups were sent out by the parent organization, north and south along the valleys, till various subordinate towns were established around Salt Lake City and, in fact, most of the tillable land of the state was occupied by the Mormons. Through it all, Salt Lake City remained the hub, not only because it was the religious mecca but also because it was the seat of the closely knit, well organized temporal control. There the voice of the elders settled whatever disputes might arise in the whole domain. In the city were organized the cooperative enterprises, such as Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution, whose branches were — and still are — to be found in outlying towns and villages.

Although the discovery of gold in California in 1849 brought throngs of prospectors through Salt Lake City on their journey westward, this group of communities was comparatively isolated and self-centered until the arrival of the Union Pacific railroad in 1869. With transportation facilities available, exploitation of mineral resources began (chiefly by non-Mormon settlers), marking the beginning of the end of absolute theocratic domination by the elders. The vast wealth to be obtained through mining and manufacture attracted many "gentiles," and their presence weakened the control set up by the religious sect. Nevertheless, this great intermountain area has retained its Mormon flavor; Mormon landmarks and institutions are dominant. One senses the power of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints in the social and recreational as well as in the religious and business life of the city and the region. Practically two-thirds of the

entire population thirteen years of age and over are affiliated with the Mormon Church. It has no real competitor for the religious loyalties of the people; all other denominational groups combined have only one-fifth as many adult members.

The significance of this situation for the "gentile" churches in the area will readily be seen. There are numerous Protestant societies but they are, in the main, weak and struggling organizations, poorly housed and possessed of a marked feeling of inferiority. The ministers of these subordinate denominations are keenly aware of the poor showing which Protestantism makes in Salt Lake City and tend to be apologetic for it. One minister frankly writes:

> Protestantism is not making any real front before Mormonism. The Mormon Church has splendid, well equipped meetinghouses, the majority of them built and kept very attractively. The majority of the Protestant churches are small, rundown, and anything but attractive. Considerable money has been spent in Salt Lake City for [Protestant] church buildings, but their design and arrangement are a disgrace to the denominations that built them.
>
> Each denomination has a fine downtown church; people of any means or influence associate with the few larger churches. People with less means either attend one of the smaller outlying churches or do not go to church at all. Thus the smaller churches with a small congregation, very moderate means, unattractive church buildings, try the ability and patience of the preacher to the limit, drive him to despair, and finally crush his spirit. His church building has little to attract the interest of his people and usually his broken spirit has less. The average pulpit in Salt Lake City is filled only until a man is able to find a call to work some place else.

Few American cities have a larger proportion of church members, but in none is Protestantism weaker or more discouraged. It is out of this dark background that one of the most interesting experiments in Protestant church cooperation is developing.

Organized Religion in the Commercial City

Attention having been given to some of the interesting variations between commercial cities, the general patterns of religious

development which characterize cities of this type should now be considered.

1. The most noticeable trait of organized religion in the typical medium-sized commercial city is the transformation which is taking place in the downtown churches. If the city is under one hundred thousand the central churches are in all likelihood gaining in strength and prestige, in spite of the fact that some of the wealthier members may have already affiliated with a newer church in their own exclusive community. If the city has passed the hundred thousand mark the central churches will, according to the formal reports, probably continue to register progress, but in some, signs of weakness will frequently be apparent to those able to count the pulse beat. The membership may even be growing, but the task of raising the budget becomes increasingly difficult as older members die and a few of the former contributors transfer their allegiance. Some of the downtown churches have already been closed or consolidated with another institution of the same denomination. This gradual shifting in the role of the downtown church can be observed in most cities of this size if a time study is made. The series of maps for the city of Des Moines, showing the growth and change in four denominations, illustrates this transition.*

2. The second characteristic is the newly found importance of the rapidly developing churches located one to four miles from the center of the city in the middle class or exclusive residential districts. The erection of more stately edifices, the growth of local community spirit, the interest of the young people in friendships developed locally in the neighborhood and school, are important forces operating in favor of such churches.

3. The continued outward push of population results in the establishment of new chapels and missions at the periphery of the city. Mission-minded churches and statesmanlike denominational leaders are interested in obtaining a foothold in the new

* See maps on pp. 132–33 and the accompanying text.

subdivisions.* Should the city continue to grow in the next thirty to fifty years as it has in the past, these small, struggling institutions may in their turn become the pride of their particular denomination.

4. Such population movements have an influence on the distribution of church members and on the size of the church school. In residential sections where there is a high percentage of home ownership mobility is low, and both the members and the church school scholars come from the local community. As the proportion of renters rises the mobility in the local area increases. This carries many members of the local church into adjoining communities, ordinarily farther removed from the center of town, and parish boundaries are expanded. As members become more scattered, the church school will lose from its enrollment the children of many of these members who prefer to have their boys and girls attend a nearby institution, avoiding the risks of crossing busy thoroughfares and at the same time enjoying association with schoolmates whom they already know. The church which has lost these children may continue to have a substantial school, because it carries on a vigorous program within the local community, drawing others whose parents may have no religious affiliation whatsoever. Even more affected by population movement are the churches located in the central business district or contiguous to it; these have few members living within the immediate vicinity. In fact, there are few families living in the area, whether members or nonmembers. Consequently it is to be expected that even though the membership remains high the church school will tend to be small.

A church may discover the effects of mobility on its own situation by the preparation of spot maps showing the residences of members and of children enrolled in the church school. A series

* The establishment of such missions involves a number of problems because of the changing attitude of people toward denominational loyalties and because of problems of overchurching and comity.

of studies of the distribution of the membership at ten- or fifteen-year intervals will reveal trends in the movement of members, presaging the future development of the church. Such a series will clarify the local situation and may also serve as the basis for planning and action.

5. Some specialized types of church organization make their appearance in or near the central business district, as the older " first " churches move out or decline. Some of these are bilingual institutions, founded to serve various foreign language groups. These groups have their own small racial colonies usually bordering on the downtown or industrial districts in low-rent areas formerly occupied by the people of means who have now moved to newer communities. Occasionally an institutional church will be found in such a deteriorated area, with a well developed seven-day-week program caring for the needs of one or many national or racial groups. This type is more common in the industrial city where the constituency for such a church will ordinarily be larger. Various missions, with a strong evangelistic program, are also located in this district. These usually are not designed for the homeless man, as in larger cities, but for members of family groups.

6. It is generally characteristic of all denominations and of all cities — although not invariably typical of every denomination in every city — that fewer churches are being opened in proportion to the total population than in years past. Since the denominations have maintained about the same ratio of members to population, the average church is larger today than it was ten or twenty years ago. This has been a steady trend and has involved the elimination of many smaller units, with the consequent enlargement of the remainder. The same forces are at work in this instance as in the movement for consolidation of schools. With larger units, a more adequate program (curriculum) can be offered, more capable leaders employed and, in the case of the church, a more attractive and worshipful edifice erected. This trend is not simply the result of denominational policy; it is to an even greater degree the product of Mr. Average Man's dislike of belonging to

an anemic organization in which he can take little pride. To use Des Moines as an illustration: the average number of communicants in Baptist (white) churches increased steadily from 181 in 1890 to 484 in 1935; in Methodist churches from 223 to 722, and in Presbyterian churches from 195 to 474. Even more striking is the change in the Congregational denomination, which for many years had four (white) churches, with an average membership in 1905 of 271. These have consolidated to form one large institution, with 1500 members.

Church Membership

There are certain trends in church membership for cities of the commercial type which may be described as characteristic.

1. The most obvious is that church membership grows as population increases. This is to be expected since the church, if active, should gain a certain proportion of members from the population increment. Reports from commercial cities indicate that in most instances, the rate of membership growth is somewhat greater than the rate of population increase. The significance of such reports is difficult to ascertain, since an increase in reported membership may be merely the result of careless bookkeeping or deliberate padding of the record. However, there probably is no more of such conscious or unconscious misrepresentation now than in former periods, since denominations are calling for more detailed reports and many ministers are making a fetish of accurate record keeping. A further and more important question concerning such reports is: What does membership mean in the life of the individual? Even though accurate reporting shows an increase in the number of church members, it cannot indicate the spiritual temper or the responsiveness of people to religion.

2. A second characteristic of church membership is that it moves out from the downtown section and surrounding areas in much the same manner as do the churches. However, the members move away from the congested areas ten to twenty years before the institutions follow suit. This lag occurs because people mi-

grating to a more desirable section of the city maintain their old interests and loyalties in the church where, perhaps, they were married and at whose altar their children were baptized. Here in the old church they have status; they are officers in various organizations and their assistance is solicited by the minister. Were it not for this continued support the church would either languish more quickly or would be forced to turn to its local community for a clientele. Since the wealthier members and those with higher social status are ordinarily the ones who are given preferred positions in the church, and since these tend to be the first to move out of a deteriorating community, it follows that the officers live at a greater distance from the downtown church to which they belong than do run-of-the-mill members. The mobility pattern may then be described in this way: The first to move are the wealthier, those who are leaders and who have the prestige; later, when their financial condition makes it possible, other members follow, copying the pattern of their social superiors. Subsequently church memberships are transferred or the institution itself moves after its constituents.

3. If a spot map showing the geographic distribution of members is prepared for a church whose membership has started to move, it will be found that the large majority of adherents will be located " beyond the church," toward the periphery of the city. This distribution is in accordance with the tendency of a city's population to move out toward the less congested districts. In periods of depression there is relatively little movement, because families cannot afford to improve their living quarters and are loath to move to less satisfactory ones. The return of a period of prosperity however again witnesses the continuance of the march toward the more open spaces. This intermittent outward movement of population and membership constitutes a crucial problem for the church in the city.

4. John Citizen and his wife prefer the larger churches; hence the support for smaller institutions becomes increasingly precarious. People who pay what they regard as a high rental or who

are buying an attractive home do not respond to an unostentatious church located in a poor section of the community; it is beneath their living standards. They look at it as a member of the golf club might view the suggestion that he drop out of his club and take a membership in a croquet circle. They would rather belong downtown or leave the church altogether. Yet these same persons are commonly unwilling to assume a proportionate share of responsibility for the erection of a more pretentious edifice near by. They hope that some missionary society will undertake it for them, or at least for their children. In surveying a number of "superior" residential communities, canvassers have found a general desire for a Sunday school, "to teach our children how to be good," but a disturbing reluctance on the part of adults when asked whether they themselves would share in the program and bear part of the cost.

5. The people of Mediopolis are becoming less sectarian partly because their attention is divided among the many other organizations to which they belong, partly because the old lines of denominational division seem less important to them than to their fathers, and partly because they are less interested in religion in general. Repeatedly, canvassers in unchurched areas are told: "I do not care what kind of church is established, as long as it has a Sunday school to which I can send my children." Or again, "The denomination makes little difference to me, as long as we do not have a whole flock of little competing churches in the community."

Both a result and a cause of this attitude is the budding cooperation among pastors of major Protestant bodies. They and their ecclesiastical superiors are becoming increasingly tolerant of other denominations and are showing a desire for mutual cooperation in solving local community problems. A concrete evidence of the broadening Christian fellowship is to be found in the comity arrangements in numerous cities, whereby one society will be given a clear field in a particular section of the city, while others are given the right of way elsewhere.

Such a change in basic attitudes on the part of the denomina-

tions, ministers, and laymen is now evidently in process, but it takes place slowly. In spite of the many formal comity plans there is actually keen competition between denominations in most communities. Equally sharp is the rivalry between churches of the same communion where a downtown and a community institution struggle for members within the same district. The ministers in the larger churches speak enthusiastically about the success of cooperation; those in smaller churches are more keenly aware of competition, for the struggle of their organizations to survive is more acute. Apparently cooperation within and between denominations is on the increase but is not as yet an unqualified reality.

Ministers in city after city who write about the good spirit shown by some of the other churches mention the bitterness of the conflict between the liberal and the fundamentalist churches. As many as ten pastors from a single city have reported this tension, not only between certain denominational groups but also within local churches. In every commercial city which was studied there were evidences of such divisions among the forces of Protestantism. Consequently it must be noted that while some differences in doctrine and practice are being bridged and good will is growing among certain church groups, other gaps are widening.

The Unchurched

America is customarily referred to as a Christian nation, and such it is in much of its history and present organization; yet the statistics presented by the Census of Religious Bodies belie the statement. According to these data approximately half of all the men and women and the young people thirteen years of age and over in the United States are without even nominal affiliation with any religious institution, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or minor sectarian groups. The proportion of unchurched Americans is greatest in the Pacific coast states and lowest in the southeast, where the traditions of Protestantism are strong and it is the mode

to go to church. However, even casual study of the census materials makes it clear that in every section of the nation, rural and urban alike, a sizable proportion of the citizenry is indifferent to organized religion or is for some other reason not reached by it.*

The number of unchurched persons in any city or other area may be computed by subtracting from the total population thirteen years of age or over in the year of the United States Religious Census (1936), the number of persons thirteen years of age and over who are reported as " churched," i.e., who are claimed as members by the various local religious societies in their report to the Bureau of the Census. Children under thirteen years of age are included in the census in a separate classification; but in determining the number of unchurched more accurate results can be secured by leaving these out of consideration, since in some communions, as the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, and Episcopalian, all baptized children are included as members, whereas in other denominations, as the Baptist and Congregational, the child is not counted as a member until he formally joins the church on his own initiative (usually at adolescence). Therefore, while in a given city one-quarter of the total reported Catholic membership may be under thirteen years of age, practically none of the Baptist members will be in that age group. Nevertheless a local Baptist church may be serving its children as effectively as the Catholic. The elimination of all children from consideration puts the statistics on a more comparable basis. In this study, unless otherwise designated, all figures concerning the number of churched or unchurched refer to persons thirteen years of age and over. These are sometimes denominated " adult members." In

* Religious workers may contend that many persons who are constituents of their churches are not included in such a census enumeration and that therefore the number of unchurched is smaller than the figures would indicate. On the other hand, countless Americans who are nominally members of religious societies are not in any appreciable way influenced by them. Further, detailed study of membership rolls has revealed that in many cases the same person is included on the membership lists of two or more churches. Since these and similar discrepancies tend to counterbalance each other, the United States census figures may be taken as being reasonably accurate.

commercial cities, as judged by the samples studied, approximately 50 per cent of the adult population is unchurched.

Having determined the number of unchurched persons in a given city the further question arises: Who are they? A knowledge of the traditions, habits, and present attitudes of the various population elements (cultural, national, or racial) in a local city gives a basis for many reasonable estimates and predictions. Such conclusions, however, need to be further checked by methods which give more definitive information. The first of these is the interview and case study method. Ordinarily this would be used in connection with a house-to-house canvass or a community survey. By means of such interviews one may discover in detail who are the unchurched and what their particular needs and interests are.* The second method employs the device of the population pyramid.† The pyramid (based on the United States census) presenting the age and sex distribution of all the people in the city or the local ward ‡ can be compared with corresponding pyramids which show the age and sex distribution of church members and of those enrolled in the church school. Such comparison will show which groups are not being served. For example, if in one area, where according to the census many young people live, the pyramids of the local churches account for proportionately few young people, an undue number in this age group would evidently be unchurched. Similarly in a city where there are 10 per cent more males than females, but in which the churches are serving fewer males than females, it is obvious that there is an unusually large proportion of unchurched males. In this way the population pyramid device which is designed primarily to aid in the analysis of population composition may be employed to indicate which age and sex groups are being neglected by the local church. If the pyramids for the churches and the city should happen to be the same, it would indicate that the 40 or 50 per cent discovered to be un-

* Cf. pp. 261 ff.

† Cf. Appendix III.

‡ Certain data, as age and sex distribution, are available for most cities of fifty thousand or more on the basis of wards or assembly districts.

churched were evenly distributed between the sexes and over all age groups. Such a coincidence, however, is not likely to occur.

The accompanying chart shows the population pyramids for a church which until recently maintained a bilingual program. To the left is the pyramid showing the age and sex distribution for the entire city. This constitutes the norm by which the church and its activities may be judged. At the center is the diagram presenting the age-sex distribution of persons enrolled in the church school, while to the right is the pyramid for the membership. Even cursory inspection of the latter will show that there is a disproportionate number of members over thirty-five years of age; the excess of those over forty-five is even more marked. Unless young people are received into this church it is obvious that there will be few to carry on the work of the organization in another twenty years. Many children attend the church school but most of them drop out between the ages of fifteen and twenty, and do not transfer their loyalty to the church. It is also evident that there is a disproportionately large number of women or, conversely, too few men, in the church and church school. Within the city's population there are more men than women.

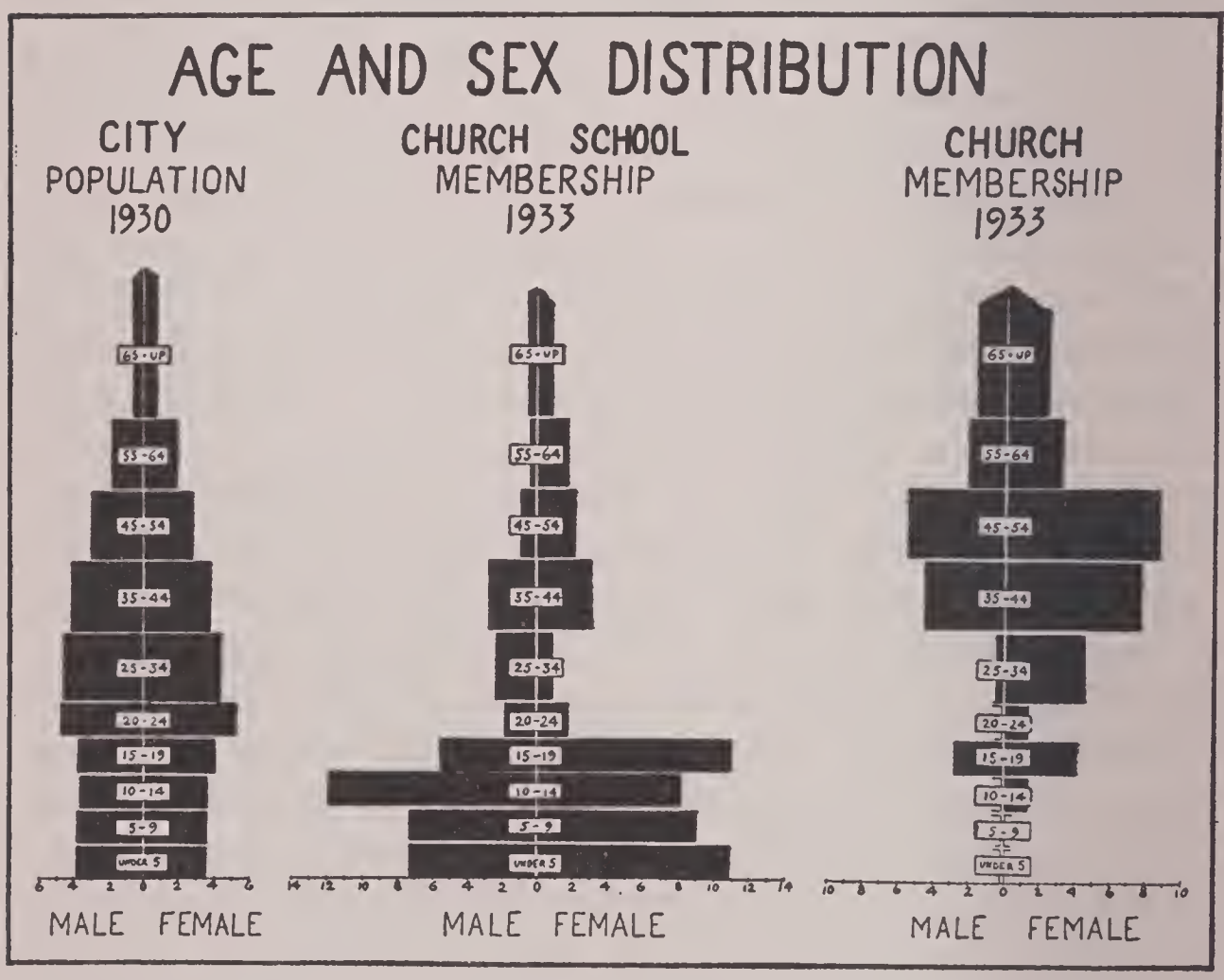
A study of the cultural backgrounds and standards of the people in the commercial city does not indicate that there is any marked difference between the churched and the unchurched. Those without religious affiliation do not seem to stand in sharp contrast, either racially or economically, with those who are church members. The reasons given for lack of interest in the religious program are many and varied. The majority of those without affiliation are not antichurch but rather are indifferent and consider themselves too busy with other interests and activities. In any case, approximately one-half of the adults have not been effectively reached or held by organized religion. Thousands of people in any commercial city, men and women, young and old, are more or less nonchalant concerning the claims and the value of the religious fellowship.

In commercial cities, as well as in other urban types, there are

CHART I

SAMPLE POPULATION PYRAMIDS FOR A CHURCH WITH A BILINGUAL BACKGROUND SHOWING AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION

By Per Cent



uniformly more unchurched males than females. This statement is supported by a study of the membership pyramids of many churches * and also by an analysis of the Religious Census, which shows clearly that organized religion has been more successful in reaching women than men. There are approximately 25 per cent more female than male members in religious societies, even though the sexes are practically balanced in the total population. The only major denomination which reverses this pattern is the Church of the Latter-day Saints. The Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches have proportionately more male adherents than most religious groups, because of their hold on their people, their emphasis on childhood training and on family participation, and the fact that there are many foreign-born (dominantly male) in their membership. While, then, there are many unchurched women, the distressingly large number of unchurched men, particularly in Protestant denominations, must be taken into account if any effort is made by religious societies to serve the whole of a local community.

Analysis of the age distribution of church members demonstrates that there are more members over forty-five years of age and fewer between twenty and thirty-five than would be expected on the basis of the age spread of the general population. Fortunately this is not true for every individual church, since some have been unusually effective in reaching younger people. Here is, however, a problem which confronts all denominations; the future of the church as of any other institution is dependent on its receiving a steady inflow of young life.

* Cf. the sample church membership pyramids on pp. 156 and 284.

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The Church in the Commercial City: Its Objectives and Problems

TYPICAL is a dangerous word to employ, especially when we are dealing with human institutions, for no two persons, no two organizations are exactly alike; each one presents at least a few interesting variations. Nevertheless, after making detailed studies of their churches with scores of pastors and receiving frank and illuminating reports on hundreds of others * one cannot but be impressed with the repetition of a certain pattern which might almost be called the standard or typical church, and which is to be found in the various urban types but especially in the commercial city; neither is it restricted to one denomination.

The Typical Church

On a shaded street in an area of homes will be found the typical church. The building, whether of early or recent date, never seems exactly adequate for the demands which are made upon it; the stage in the recreation room was built without rear exits, the Sunday school classrooms, while separated from one another by partitions, are not soundproof, the acoustics in the auditorium are poor, the ladies' parlor is badly in need of redecorating. Yet in spite of its deficiencies and the somewhat musty odor which characterizes the basement dining-room it is a familiar and beloved structure in which its people feel at home. The governing board

* Cf. Appendix IV.

has its quota of interesting personalities: the cautious member who is sure that discretion is the better part of valor, the man who prides himself on saying exactly what he thinks "even to the pastor himself," the vivacious woman who always has some contribution, more or less valuable, to make to the discussion, the plain hard-working men and women who say little but carry their assignment of responsibilities faithfully.

The church school, which meets at half-past nine each Sunday morning preceding the church service, is divided along the conventional lines for beginners, primaries, juniors, intermediates, and seniors, with one or two adult classes meeting simultaneously. The opening exercises for all from the intermediates up may be enlivened by an orchestra, and rousing hymns are sung under the supervision of a leader, the quality of whose voice does not reach the high pitch of his enthusiasm. The teaching staff is never entirely satisfactory to the church school board, in spite of intermittent efforts at teacher training. It is difficult to induce capable persons to accept classes, and it is equally difficult to secure tactfully the resignations of inept teachers. So the staff is a motley group, with members ranging from timid young girls who have been persuaded that it "isn't hard to teach primary children" to a benevolently firm elderly gentleman who conducts the adult mixed class through the mysteries of Job and Daniel. There are winsome children who speak pieces on Children's day; there are bad and troublesome junior boys who solve the school's discipline problem by drifting away during the intermediate age (some of these are recaptured in the Boy Scout troop, which flourishes under the leadership of a serious young college student); there are senior boys and girls developing an interest in each other and romance.

The young people's society is the pride of the minister's heart, for he has worked hard to create and strengthen it. The church board is distressed, however, by the fact that the young people do not stay after their meeting for the evening service, but instead drive off in the family cars, perhaps for petting parties. Never-

theless they are a loyal crowd and will undertake almost any job the minister requests of them. A problem is created by a few of the members who do not realize that they are no longer young people and who annoy the latter by attending their meetings and attempting to assume leadership.

The women's auxiliary is the liveliest organization in the church, holding general meetings twice a month and social or sewing meetings for subgroups at least once a month. The president is determined to make the general sessions " educational " and persuades local and city leaders to address the women. The most important function of the society, if one would judge not by statement of purpose but by practice, is financial, and the church dinners and banquets which are prepared not only furnish the occasion for much sociability among the women but also swell their contributions to pay off the church debt. There are petty feuds and personal quarrels among them at times, but in crisis situations they pull together and give an assuring aspect of solidarity to the church. It is a matter of comment that fewer men attend services than women. An effort to interest more men in the church has resulted in the establishment of a men's club, which holds meetings spasmodically. These are moderately successful, but it is noticeable that on " ladies' nights " the attendance of men is much greater.

The worship service on Sunday mornings is a semi-dignified occasion. The sanctuary is not particularly conducive to a spirit of reverence; it is essentially an auditorium, with bright direct lighting and large colored windows conspicuously dedicated to the memory of deceased benefactors. There is a general rustling and whispering as members enter, greet their friends and impart bits of information to their neighbors a pew or two forward. This is covered fairly well by the organ music, but is disconcerting when the organist pauses between selections. A last-minute announcement of the foreign missionary meeting is handed to the minister during the singing of the first hymn and is included by him in the announcement period, which effectively breaks the unity of the

service. The volunteer choir sings an anthem with a pleasing degree of accuracy and feeling, and an offertory solo is executed by the favorite soprano. The sermon is rather long and its outline is somewhat vague; but the preacher has lived earnestly and suffered deeply, and his illustrations bring salutary tears to the eyes of his listeners. Many thank him with evident sincerity at the close, and go home from this effective though technically imperfect service with a determination to lead more Christlike lives. The typical church. One is sometimes alarmed that it accomplishes so little, and again amazed that it contributes so much to the lives and souls of people.

The Objectives of the Church

There is a definite relation between the goal which one seeks and the methods to be employed in attaining it. Perhaps the differences in organization, work, and effectiveness among churches in the local community are due in part to the marked contrasts in the hopes and expectations of the pastors, for a person does not ordinarily achieve one goal while struggling toward another. An analysis of the comments of sixty-three ministers serving nine denominations in commercial cities proved helpful in discovering not only the dominant interests of the pastors but also the particular elements which were emphasized in the program of the local church.

A few of these men were frankly baffled, and one or two appeared discouraged by the many intricate problems, the tensions and conflicts which exist within their own churches and also in the relationship between church and community, the near-poverty and economic insecurity imposed by their low income, and the uncertainty of the local institution's future. However, these were only a small minority. The replies of the large majority, in this as in other types of city, manifested assurance and conviction. Though some of the writers described their objectives in rather vague and conventional terms, many showed clarity of purpose, awareness of the tasks at hand, and a zestful spirit in their work.

Not a few described with a measure of pride some current achievement or gave voice to an optimistic view of the future. They recognized the complexity of the social situation and had a clear conception of the various functions which the church may be expected to perform and of its place in community life.

For about a fourth of the ministers the church has a single objective and this can be stated with admirable simplicity. Unfortunately these men differ sharply from one another as to what that one goal is. For some of them it is a matter of doctrinal belief:

The true understanding that the church is the body of Christ through which by the word and sacraments, as the means of grace, men, women and children are to be brought into saving relationship with him and through which it is his purpose to usher in his kingdom. Not by education, culture and organizations of men.

My chief objective is to reach and save sinners, to preach the gospel of salvation from sin.

(1) Evangelization of the lost. (2) Bible study for the saved. (3) Student group Bible study. (4) Intensive youth activity all age groups.

My objective is to get people to Know the Word so as to believe in Christ's Blood and Resurrection To Be Saved and Teach others. In 20 years there has gone out from this church 16 educated young people.

For others the objective is institutional or sectarian:

My immediate task is to save the church which has been losing ground very rapidly. . . . Its losses by death and removal have been serious. Its finances are chaotic.

This need to " get the church out of the red " financially is mentioned as a prime objective by many:

We are operating under a mortgage foreclosure on our church and hence are obligated to give immediate attention to our financial obligations — and to this effort we add a program primarily to reach and teach our youth.

For several the great aim is to increase attendance and secure participation in the program. One preacher succinctly and loyally names his objective as " the whole program of my denomination."

Where ministers in commercial cities set up one *summum bonum* for their church, this proved to be either a matter of theological belief or institutional development. In cities of other types some gave primary emphasis to the community aspect of religion, the importance of serving the people in the local area whether members of the church or not, while others stressed chiefly what is referred to as the social gospel, the application of the ethics of Jesus to specific current economic and social questions. This leads to intriguing speculation as to the influence of the type of community on the preaching interests of the minister. Perhaps the industrial city or suburb draws preachers with a " socialized " outlook: or possibly their social passion is heightened by the more acute economic struggle within such cities.

One should not conclude that ministers serving commercial cities are uninterested in the community or in the Christian solution of social issues, for fully half of them evince concern for these matters. However, when either is mentioned, it is always as one of many responsibilities confronting the church. Such recognition of the wide scope and variety of the church's objectives would seem to imply a more balanced comprehension of the church's function; this is also the more typical response. Characteristic of this balanced attitude are the following statements taken from the replies of several ministers:

To maintain a warm and effective evangelistic program; to use the best educational methods; to reach, hold and train youth in Christlike attitudes; to devise means by which religious enthusiasm may express itself in action.

To guide and lead people into the Christ Way of Life individually and socially; to break down denominational barriers and serve the whole community; to be of service to all in special times of need.

Conserve the youth of this section of the city. Develop Christian character which applies itself to individual and social problems. A

major emphasis this month on (1) personal adequacy, (2) world peace.

To help people pursue the Christlike Way of Life for themselves and for the social order, by means of worship, education, fellowship and service.

A dignified, spiritual worship service; an efficient educational program; a warm and widespread social activity.

The same concepts, and frequently even the same phraseology, crop up in the replies of ministers from widely separated communities and with obviously different training.

For Whom Is the Program Designed?

In response to the question: "Is your program designed only for members, or are there elements which are designed for the people of the community, whether members or nonmembers?" almost a third of the replies indicated that the program was planned without much reference to general community interests or needs. Typical are the following responses:

For members.
For members alone.
Only for members, but generally evangelical.
Primarily for members; others welcome.
For members and their families mainly.
Just members primarily.

In most of these cases, as well as in others where the program is nominally designed for the community, no specific items of community interest were listed. All are welcome to attend the worship services and share in the program if they wish to, but it is only too plain that little effort is made to carry the work of the church to the nonmembers. One pastor states pathetically, "Our program is designed for the entire community, but only members avail themselves."

A minister in another city, who also accepts the theory that the

church should serve the community, writes, " We try to make a community appeal." This effort, however, does not seem to be particularly successful, for he adds: " The industrial groups are not being reached by this church, although we try to make our program thoroughly democratic." Perhaps this inability to reach the unchurched may be explained in part by the preacher's statement of his objectives for his church: " This very largely is a pulpit church, although we have a well organized church school under capable direction." It would seem that this minister of a church of a thousand members recognizes the problem, but fails to see the connection between his present program and the continuance of the problem. He reports further that his members " do not take their membership vows very seriously with regard to attendance or support " and " the poorer classes, of which there are many, remain unreached."

Frequently the sole item other than the conventional services of the church (worship and religious education) which is listed by the pastor as a means of community contact and service is the Boy Scout troop. Other favored vehicles for community service mentioned by many pastors are the daily vacation Bible school, young people's program and parties, men's brotherhoods, and women's auxiliaries. Though the majority of religious organizations make some effort to reach the unchurched in their communities, it is only one out of three which manifests a conscious and determined purpose to serve the community as such. The underlying spirit of some of these latter churches is well illustrated by the response of the pastor in a large downtown Lutheran church:

> The needy children are ministered to through different organizations. We cooperate with the colored people and Jewish folks in their work. A splendid spirit of cooperation exists between Catholics and above groups and ours, for attending to every need in the heart of this city. . . . This church was given up as hopeless eleven years ago and without boasting has risen to one of the outstanding churches of the state, all because an earnest attempt has been made to meet every human need.

The varied program of a Congregational church in the same city contains the following elements:

Church services (average attendance 500); church school (600); young people's societies (75); recreational program (100); Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Cubs, Brownies (about 100); social activities (suppers, parties) women's association (500).

In another church different features are emphasized:

Dramatic club. Classes in special religious education. Church night and fellowship evenings — food, moving pictures, fun. Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts.

A few churches have a bilingual program for small and otherwise unchurched foreign-language groups. Several have established missions in underprivileged sections of the city. One reported that services are held for deaf-mutes; an occasional church specializes in " training institutes," adult educational or teacher training programs. The recreational program is emphasized by a number; one sizable church reports that over two thousand persons are served by its gymnasium. Others sponsor basketball teams, picnic parties and outdoor programs, while some attract nonmembers through dramatic activities and play-producing groups. A " community club " promoted by another church devotes its attention to local civic betterment, creating public opinion for the improvement of school facilities, streets, lighting, and so forth. Three of the churches which reported from commercial cities reach a wider constituency through the broadcasting of Sunday morning services.

Social work for underprivileged groups engages the serious attention of several of the churches, whose object is not primarily to recruit new members but rather to meet basic human needs. One institution presents a " charity show " in which community groups participate, the proceeds being used for local projects. Another collects and distributes clothing and supplies food in emergencies which cannot be immediately met through the

regular, slow moving public agencies. A third type of service involves the operation of a clinic for the physical examination of the children in the neighborhood before the opening of school in the autumn.

Inevitably, and also properly, major attention is given to the varied religious and social needs of the members. For them, services must be held, the building redecorated, funds raised, and leadership provided. There are a hundred and one demands on a minister's time. As one pastor states, " We try to reach the community [but] the field is large and I cannot cover it thoroughly." Yet if the church aims to become an increasingly effective agency within a local community it will reach out beyond its own membership, contacting new persons and enlarging the scope of its service. Unless it can do this the institution itself will have difficulty in becoming more than a sectarian group. Not only for the sake of the institution but also to preserve the values which the church avowedly represents it is necessary that an obligation to serve the community be recognized.

Problems within the Local Church

A discussion of all the problems which may arise in a local congregation is beyond the scope of the present study. Only those particular difficulties which appear most often in urban churches and have been repeatedly mentioned by different ministers can be noted. These center around the building up of a congregation, the discovery of new members, the development of leadership, and the maintenance of loyalties.

1. Few indeed are the churches in Mediopolis which do not suffer a dissipation of energies because of a scattered membership. Practically every minister in the city of Duluth bemoans the widespread distribution of his people. Whether the church be in the downtown section or located somewhere else along the shoestring city, the story is the same. Since members live at a distance it is not easy for them to attend services, particularly in cold winter

weather, and it is even more difficult to persuade parents to send their children to the church school. The problem is similar in every city. A typical comment is:

> Inadequacy of attendance and effective educational ministry because of distance of members from church and its central program.

Ministers and laity may as well acquiesce in the mobility of population which is the primary cause of membership dispersion. It is an inevitable characteristic of a growing city. The central churches are most keenly aware of this handicap, although the spread of their membership also creates a problem for the other churches of the denomination.*

As the old population drifts away, newcomers, frequently with a different cultural background and religious affiliation, begin to seep in:

> Shifting population, a downtown church now with members far away. . . . Catholics settling around a church and school of their own and property becoming of a rental type.

A problem of this nature can be avoided or intelligently met only through foresight and the development of a carefully planned program, based on a study of population movements of the past and a knowledge of probable trends for the next twenty-five years. This study and program planning, however, cannot be carried on with maximum efficiency by a single church, or for that matter by a single denomination.

2. Another problem, closely related to the high mobility rate of Mediopolis, is the ever increasing number of " inactive and non-resident " members. The church has had no contact with the majority of these for years. It frequently happens that a local institution can furnish addresses for only two-thirds of its reported membership. Where have the others gone? Many urbanites do not remain long enough in one place to send roots down into the community life, and the church generally has not developed effec-

* Cf. pp. 175 f.

tive techniques for making a lasting spiritual contribution to transients. Whether it will be able to do so remains to be seen. Certainly the church is most effective in a stable community. Since the mobility rate is likely to rise rather than diminish, the church will do well to give thought to the problems presented by the transient and the inactive member and by the transfer of membership, so that church loyalties are not lost in transit from one residence to another. Basic to the solution of these difficulties is the keeping of accurate records.

3. Only in so far as a church continues to serve its own immediate community with effectiveness is its future assured. As its members move away several courses of action are open to the church: it may resign itself to an era of dwindling significance and eventual extinction, or it may move after its old members, or it may proceed to recruit new ones out of its own immediate neighborhood. Viewed abstractly, the latter is the course which most Christians will say a church should follow. However when confronted with the concrete case of their own church the tendency is for both minister and laymen to struggle to retain the traditional atmosphere and loyalties. The older members, many of whom have now moved from the community, continue to control the program, and the minister spends much time to retain their financial support. This tends to isolate the church as a functioning society from the local community, to which it may become merely another building. One minister has stated the problem very frankly:

> We need to adapt our program to the needs of the " unchurched " in this vicinity rather than perpetuate the outmoded program of yesteryear. We are considered too much of a " class church." . . . The majority of the " underprivileged " and " exploited " pass us by as having no message suited to their particular needs, etc.

The practice of social settlements in the congested areas of the larger cities may be illuminating. These organizations have discovered that it is advisable to keep their doors and program open to all who establish residence in the local community. The institu-

tion refuses to be classified as Italian or Polish, but welcomes the members of each new nationality or race. Such a policy accounts for the long continued usefulness of Hull House in Chicago and the Henry Street Settlement in New York. A genuine settlement never seeks to follow those who have moved out to a better area, but assumes that its responsibility consists in remaining and serving the less privileged persons who take the place of the former residents. To be sure, the nonsectarian program of the settlement makes it easier to pursue such a policy. Further, the settlement is usually not bound by the racial prejudices which characterize many church members. It should be frankly recognized that unless a church is ready to welcome foreign-language groups or Negroes to its activities and membership it cannot hope to build itself permanently into the community in the lower-rent areas of the city. This problem of serving the local area is then closely tied to the social teachings and practices of the church and its solution involves the attitudes of the denomination as well as those of the membership.

4. Increasingly ministers are becoming aware of the difficulty of recruiting new church members. It is a formidable task to bring people back into the church in their twenties who have been lost to it in their teens. Population pyramids for many congregations show a deficiency in the number of people in the twenty to thirty-four year age grouping. This weakness in the church structure can frequently be traced to ineffective religious leadership which failed to bring the young people into the church ten years previously. As yet this weakness is reflected simply in the number of church members. Ten years from now, however, it will result in an acute financial problem for the church, since the number of members in the most economically productive age will be unusually small. The evil men do does live after them, as well as the good, but the effect may not be in full evidence for ten or twenty years. One pastor, aware of this problem, states:

This church must have many more new members among young people, and the young people who already belong to the church must

become active. I have reorganized the Epworth League and am working hard with the young married people's group.

5. The "continuing" young people's society presents another interesting problem. When a strong Epworth League or Christian Endeavor is developed, its members find status in the leadership opportunities which it affords. As they grow older they continue to direct the organization, with the result that those who are two to five years younger are kept in a subordinate position and eventually tend to drop out because of the lack of opportunity for self-expression. Some population pyramids show alternate five-year age groupings to be strong in a local church and the intervening ones weak. This state of affairs is directly traceable in a number of cases to the fact that one group of young people has continued its control of the society for five or more years beyond the time when it should be surrendered. When however in their later twenties these members acquire homes and families of their own they relax their grasp on the organization and a new group of young people again comes to the fore. In this manner a church may have a successful program actually serving those of high school and college age about five years out of every ten. Only far-sighted leadership can prevent this fundamental weakness in church organization.

6. In the majority of churches there are proportionately few men in the membership; commonly the women are twice as numerous. In two large churches recently studied approximately three times as many women as men belonged to the organization. Yet there are ordinarily as many males as females in the community. This means that an important segment of society is being neglected by the church — a fact which may have a bearing on its financial difficulties. The population pyramid showing the sex and age distribution of the membership is the device which will best reveal what the actual situation is; it will serve as a clinical thermometer. An interesting discovery has been that where men (considering the differences in available time) are as active as women in a church there will be about as many boys as girls being

received into church membership. Where this is not true the loss of boys from the church school in their early teens tends to be greater, there are proportionately fewer accessions to membership, and the tradition grows up that the church is a woman's affair. Here is a neat problem in social psychology for ministers, religious educators and laymen.

7. Related to the foregoing problem is the question of recruiting leadership. Leadership traits are present in small children as well as in adults and skilled counselors have a golden opportunity of freeing them from a feeling of inferiority and aiding them to acquire selfhood, poise, initiative, and the satisfactions which come from creative work. The minister and his close associates would do well to keep in mind that the future of the church, twenty to forty years from now, is being shaped by them in the junior and intermediate departments. This is one reason why the church school is important; if the work with children is not properly conducted there may be a dearth of adult leadership in later years. " In first church, there are too few men and women with any leadership ability. . . ." Many an adult, even over fifty, has as yet undiscovered leadership abilities which the minister can evoke by judicious suggestions and by opening up new but not too difficult opportunities for service.

8. Another problem confronting the churches of the commercial city has the twofold aspect of lack of pride in the local church and lack of loyalty to it. Such an attitude on the part of members is readily understandable in Salt Lake City, where most Protestant groups are puny and without status in the community; but the attitude is found elsewhere. Ministers report that " too many outside activities distract and divide attention "; there is a " lack of cohesion " in the membership. They earnestly hope their people will " recover a vital sense of Christian fellowship and joy." Catholic priests and Jewish rabbis are as much perplexed by the indifference of their flock as Protestant ministers. One Roman Catholic priest remarked: " A good many of my people come to

church only twice, and they are carried both times — for baptism and for burial."

In a world which is becoming rapidly more complex and where organizations are multiplying, any given institution tends to have a diminishing influence on the thought-life of its adherents. To overcome this handicap it will be necessary for the church to speak with an authority which arises out of its ability to meet the basic longings of puzzled and distracted men and women. Assertion of the importance of the church is not enough. In the eyes of the average citizen the church can justify itself as a unique institution, deserving of loyal support, only if in program as well as in theory it assists people to live the good life and to feel at home in the universe.

The poor man, cheated of opportunities and economically insecure, and the rich man, to whom most doors are open, are alike difficult for the church to reach. As the pastor of one wealthy congregation has stated:

> Our section of the city, possessing considerable wealth, is less interested in the religious life than less favored sections of the city. Sunday is a day for golf and long trips to the country. It is hard to stir these people to experience a vital Christian faith.

Perhaps an increasing measure of equity and brotherhood between churches and between men might be to the advantage of all. The commercial city is fortunate in that fewer of its citizens are either exceedingly poor or exceedingly rich than is the case in any other urban type. In this as in other respects it is the median city standing midway between the industrial and residential suburbs, and hence affords a distinctive opportunity for the church.

9. A final but very vocal plaint of the clergy of Mediopolis concerns the ever present financial struggle. Building debts, maintenance costs, and current expense budgets are apparently a constant vexation which usurps an undue proportion of the minister's time and energy. There is much evidence that churches with a heavy debt lose members to other institutions which are pos-

sessed of greater financial security. Some of these persons leave because they cannot, and others because they will not, contribute the sizable amounts expected in such a situation. It may be added that where debts are high the benevolence budget fares badly.

When in the booming 'twenties a leading church of one denomination erected a beautiful sanctuary or an enlarged educational unit others near by followed suit, until now in city after city there is in the downtown district or some outlying section a cluster of five or six churches which have the common problem of staving off the mortgage holder. The following statement is illustrative:

> Most of the churches in our section of the city have difficult financial problems. We all have large new buildings. We are not in any sense overchurched and every church is strategically located, but the local community shies off from membership in churches facing such problems.

A sizable debt is not the only obstacle to a well ordered financial program. The arduous task of raising the budget is an annual nightmare to practically every religious organization. It is even more trying in a depression period. Then the church, a voluntary association, inevitably suffers financially and to a greater extent than the public school, which is supported by tax funds. Surprising is the relative success with which the churches have weathered the economic storm. Some financial dilemmas are due to the fact that the church is not located within its proper area; others to unskilled leadership; still others to the basic difficulties of our present financial order.

The perplexities of the local church are numerous and varied, and each takes on a unique aspect, colored as it is by the immediate situation. The solution of each problem must take into account the traditions, attitudes, prejudices, and economic status of the members and their attitude toward the church and its responsibility in the community. Also important are the attitudes of nonmembers in the community toward the church, as well as the skills and training of the minister and the stability of the denomination.

Tensions and Problems within the Denomination

Each church has its own inner problems of personal and group adjustments, financial security, and relation to the community; in addition there is often lack of adjustment in the relationship between churches in the denomination. Many tensions are created by the very fact of the growth of the city from a small, relatively simple organization to a highly complex clustering of distinct communities, each different from the others. As people move out from the central community they locate within what the pastor of a neighborhood church regards as his parish, but retain their membership downtown; this may create ill feeling between the two societies. Partly because of the interest each minister and each church board have in their own organization, partly because a city-wide as distinct from a parochial sense of Christian responsibility is slow in developing, partly because the forces of urban life are poorly understood, it is very difficult to deal effectively with the problem. In illustration of this point stand the contrasting statements of ministers of the same denomination and city. The pastor of a central church protests:

> There is a strong tendency on the part of " neighborhood churches " to urge members from downtown churches, on purely geographical grounds, to unite with churches near them. The convenience of Sunday school is the entering wedge.

The pastor of a small church near the edge of the city views the activity referred to above not as insidious but as logical and proper. His complaint is different:

> There is some competition from larger churches trying to pick the better families in these outlying sections to support their work.

Similar witness comes from another city concerning the lack of understanding — or perhaps it might be called the subtle and usually unmentioned conflict — between central and surrounding churches. From the larger " first " church:

Few of our members send or bring children to our church school. We feed the neighborhood churches in other sections. Members by the score identifying with other churches without notifying us.

From the small neighborhood church:

People are sending their children to our Sunday school while they go downtown to "their own church." . . . Competition between churches is noticeable, interdenominational as well as intra-denominational competition.

In each case this is a narrow and institutional rather than a city-wide point of view, and one which evidences the need for education of both ministers and laity in their wider responsibility and in the processes of social change which are at work in cities and churches. The downtown institutions may, if the city continues to grow, become missionary enterprises in their turn, serving a low-income population and becoming dependent for at least a portion of their support on what used to be the little neighborhood churches. In a city no one church can stand by itself.

Linguistic population groupings have occasioned another type of difficulty. Each language has its adherents who desire a church where services will be conducted in their own tongue. Time was when these were more needed than they are at present. Changes have taken place. From one city comes the testimony:

Yes, there is much overlapping. Overchurched in some sections. The Baptists are well located except in this locality where you have two Baptist churches only three blocks apart. Language has been the cause of this.

A comparable situation is found in the Methodist communion where, in one city on the same street and within four blocks of one another, there are three Methodist Episcopal churches, one Swedish, one Norwegian, and one with an English-language background. Each has its own membership, now scattered, each struggles for its own continuance. Since in the commercial city these language groups are ordinarily small they do not develop strong churches. Only in large cities or in those settled chiefly

by a particular nationality can there be adequate support for an impressive bilingual program. Further, the need for such institutions is declining with each passing decade. Their existence frequently results in overchurching which, from the standpoint of the community, is especially unfortunate when the institutions are members of the same denomination and therefore do not offer the variety in worship and organizational forms presented by different communions. It serves as an illustration of the cultural lag, the unwillingness to adjust our institutions to changed social conditions. Here again a better knowledge of urban social forces would be an aid in intelligent planning.

The Relation between the Denominations

In response to the question, " Are there any special religious problems in the city of which you are aware, such as competition between churches of different denominations? " very few ministers indicated that there was any overt conflict between such well established communions as the Baptist, Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian. The tension that does exist usually occurs not because of personal antagonism between the ministers or congregations but because there are more religious societies within a given community than the people of the area can support adequately. For instance, in one section of a commercial city there are, within ten blocks of one another, the following ten churches: Baptist, Christian, Methodist, Presbyterian, Quaker (two separate institutions), United Brethren, the Pentecostal Mission, a Four-Square church, and, last but not least vocal, a " Jesus Only " society. Here is obviously a case of overchurching which tends to force the pastors into a sectarian attitude and results in anemic religious organizations; these latter make small appeal to persons who are being freed from parochial and sectarian interests by school, business and social life.

Common indeed is the plaint of ministers regarding tension between the more liberal and more conservative churches. In one city nine out of twelve ministers mentioned this type of strife:

I find a real prevalent division of the churches into two extremes, a competition too strong and bitter.

An unfortunate cleavage between liberals and fundamentalists largely accentuated by the latter and in polemic fashion.

In city after city the testimony is the same. The sectarian fundamentalist group appears to be relatively stronger in the cities (commercial, industrial, and resort) which have hinterlands of their own than in either type of suburban city. Possibly this is because the " independent " city is more closely tied to the rural population, and therefore tends to be more conservative in its religious and also in its political life. In the sophisticated atmosphere of the residential suburb fundamentalism is less robust.

An interesting reaction to this tension over matters of doctrine in Mediopolis is made by the pastor of a strong church in a traditionally conservative denomination:

> The ministers of our denomination work together splendidly, in my opinion, and the spirit in our local ministers' association is especially good. Such churches as the Four-Square Gospel, Open Bible, etc., of course do not cooperate with us and do a great deal of proselyting, but I have always felt personally that such churches were a blessing in disguise to the other churches. Our disgruntled members, who are very liable to accuse us of not " preaching the gospel " and who are very often stormy petrels in our churches go to these other churches and find genuine satisfaction in their ministry.

Some ministers in other cities are of a similar opinion, although the majority of their colleagues, both liberal and conservative, wring their hands over this cleavage in Christendom.

However, it is a cause for satisfaction that cooperation is definitely on the increase among many denominations. Frequently the informal evidences of this spirit of brotherhood are as significant as the actual organization of a ministerial association. An illustration of this genuine good will comes from a midwestern city where a Methodist pastor who had been serving one church for fifteen years became critically ill. The rector of the downtown

Episcopal church planned an afternoon service of prayer for his recovery, inviting the members of his own and also of the Methodist church to attend; over a hundred were present for the beautiful service. In the Presbyterian, United Brethren, Congregational, and other churches, similar services were held during the course of this minister's long and serious illness. A mass for his recovery was said in a local Catholic college. Here is evidence of the growing spirit of good will. Basic human problems are very much alike, regardless of the denomination to which people belong; where there can be sharing in times of sickness, suffering, and strain, or in confronting community problems of social betterment, churches learn to work unitedly and in that process they discover how much they have in common. In this spirit one minister wrote:

> This is one city where we forget our little differences and center on our larger objective of making Christ's work a reality, socially and spiritually. *A strong, united effort and front to meet human needs is the great passion of its leaders.*

In the majority of cities this cooperative attitude has resulted in the formation of interdenominational organizations such as the Inter-religious Goodwill Association in El Paso and the Council of Churches in Wichita. In the latter,

> the local council of churches with monthly meetings has the interest, support and membership of practically all Protestant denominations. There is also a wonderful program of religious education with a full-time leader in the council. A committee on religious education works with the city board of education.

Such organizations, while not including every pastor and church, do embrace those who have learned to be more or less tolerant of differences in doctrine and emphasis. An exception to the general pattern is the association in one city which is organized on a creedal basis and consequently excludes the more liberal ministers. Unfortunately it is a far cry from the development of such inter-

church societies to the building of a united Christian approach which will be effective in preventing the overchurching of certain areas and the neglect of others. Nevertheless progress is being made even on this delicate and ultimate test of interchurch tolerance and good will.

II

The Church in the Industrial City

AS INDUSTRY begins to dominate the work life of a city a slow metamorphosis in the general social pattern takes place. The community which once earned its living through trade with its rural and small-town hinterland outgrows many of the ties which bind it to the region round about and becomes a city of the world. Its products are on display in salesrooms a thousand miles removed. Such development stimulates population growth and measurably affects social and cultural organization.

How Industry Affects the City and the Church

Industry tends to select and shape the city's population. Industrial workers do not enjoy the social status which is associated with the professions, civil service, trade or clerical occupations. The native white American, greatly influenced as he is by the standards of his class, strives to obtain a white-collar job. Industry which frequently pays low wages is avoided because it is commonly viewed by the American high school graduate as a blind alley occupation and he, with success stories fresh in mind, wants employment where he can climb the ladder rapidly.

These various influences, together with the lower status and humbler expectations of the foreign-born and their children or of the Negroes, tend to bring the latter peoples into industrial cities to seize the work opportunities. However, while the Italians and the Czechs, the Poles and the Slavs, the Negroes and the Mexicans flock to such centers they do not become the chief

population groups, as they may in an industrial suburb, for the industrial city continues to perform many commercial and professional functions for its hinterland; it is still an " independent " city, with a wider variety of occupational opportunities and economic classes than are to be found in a suburb. Still maintaining contact with its hinterland it continues to attract rural Americans to its shops and mills, as an industrial suburb does not.

Nevertheless, the city's population will include a large number of foreign-born whose presence influences the church just as it does other institutions. The larger the proportion coming from Catholic lands the stronger is the Roman Catholic Church and the weaker the Protestant. Most industrial cities started out as commercial centers, with the traditional Protestant religious background. The rapid influx of new population groups brought some change to the picture. The newcomers settled in the lower rent areas around the downtown district, and the old " first " churches gradually became conscious of the fact that their members were moving away to higher-rent areas, while they themselves were left marooned in the midst of a Catholic, Jewish, or Negro Protestant population. Not only were these population groups of a different religious background, but they also occupied a lower economic status; this meant that even if the central churches should wish to serve the local community they could do so only on a missionary basis. Institutional and bilingual churches, less needed in commercial cities where these economic and racial groups are fewer and smaller, may be established to meet the new demands.

The nature of the dominant industry will affect the life, prosperity, and standards of a particular city. Scranton, which is dependent on the mining of coal, leans on an economically weak crutch, for coal mining is notoriously a sick industry. Though hourly rates of pay may be high there is much unemployment and annual earnings are low; the whole community suffers in consequence. Because coal mining is dangerous, dirty, and hard labor, immigrants of the first and second generation have been given almost a complete monopoly of the work; over 60 per cent of the

entire population of Scranton is either foreign-born or of foreign parentage. Many of these people have come from the mining regions of Wales, but large contingents hail from Poland, Italy, Lithuania, Germany, Ireland, Russia, and Czechoslovakia. Hence it is not surprising that in Scranton more persons belong to the Roman Catholic Church than to all other denominations combined, although there are many strong Protestant institutions. All, Catholic and Protestant alike, are influenced by the insecurity of the masses in Scranton. A large proportion of the ministers mention unemployment as a major problem.

Binghamton presents a different picture. While it may almost be called a one-industry town its product (shoes) finds a market in depression as in prosperity. Consequently suffering has been less acute and the churches have had better financial support than in Scranton. The lumber industry of Tacoma, seasonal as it is and employing migratory workers, influences the program of many churches in that city. The situation is different in Altoona, which is more exclusively dependent on railroading than any other city of its size in the United States. A railroad demands stability of its employees. However, the churches are handicapped by the fact that hours of work are irregular; it is more difficult to get men to assume any stated responsibility in the church, and, as one pastor has remarked, the railroad "by withdrawing departments to Philadelphia, is helping to reduce or destroy what has been built up." One-industry towns always run such a risk.

One of the characteristics of the industrial center is that insecurity is increased in proportion to the dependence of the city on mills and factories for employment. Such establishments hire more persons in a period of peak production and lay off more in slack times than is the case in other fields of work. If a city is dependent on heavy industries, economic insecurity is greater than where the mills produce consumer goods such as foodstuffs or shoes. Further, any diversification in manufacturing is also a hedge against economic collapse in a depression period.

The History and Status of the Church in Industrial Cities

Industrial cities, while not so widespread as commercial cities, are found in various sections of the country and reflect the local geographical and cultural biases of their respective areas. These differences are illustrated by a brief account of organized religion in cities selected from three contrasting regions. The subsequent portion of the chapter will deal with those characteristics which are common to industrial cities.

Binghamton is a thriving manufacturing city which, because of the nature of its products, managed to survive the depression with relatively few scars. Like much of the northeast, particularly where the Catholic Church is strong, Binghamton has a better church membership record than the nation as a whole, almost two-thirds of its adult inhabitants belonging to one of the city's religious organizations. Slightly under half of all who have some church affiliation are cared for by the Roman Catholic communion. About one in three of the remainder is a member of a Methodist church, while the chief preferences of the others are, in order, Presbyterian, Baptist, Jewish, Episcopalian.

Most of the churches in Binghamton appear to be holding their ground; some are thriving. However, the ministers almost without exception are dismayed by the indifference of their own members and of the community in general. "The grip of secular interest and materialism" and "the demands of schools, lodges, clubs, are so great" that the church can secure little of their members' time to aid them in spiritual development. Perhaps the relatively high degree of economic security enjoyed by the people of Binghamton, which permits a better standard of living, ownership of automobiles, membership in clubs and week ends in the country, has dulled the response of some to religion. Golf, the automobile, and the summer camp are thorns in the side of more than one minister who is striving to develop within his congrega-

tion a feeling of unity, loyalty, and a desire to serve. One puts it succinctly. He finds in his members

an unwillingness to inconvenience themselves for the church and the kingdom of God; worldliness (I don't mean dancing, etc., which I regard with indifference), selfishness, material standards, refusal to apply Christianity to personal and social life.

While he adds, " This is by no means universal: we have many of the finest of Christians," the problem is one which disturbs the majority of the ministers — a situation common to industrial cities but less evident in commercial centers.

Of equal significance in the religious life of Binghamton is a deep cleavage which has been manifest particularly in the past few years. The religiously conservative and orthodox have become decidedly vocal. The tactics of these fundamentalists appear definitely disruptive. They will not enter into fellowship with others who hold a more liberal point of view. Two schools to propagate " the true faith " have been established in adjoining Johnson City. One pastor describes the situation as follows:

Two so-called Bible schools accept students with very low educational standards, train them in a reactionary, juvenile and pictorial theology and send them out into churches, mostly Baptist. A number of other churches keep up a constant run of emotionalistic evangelism based on a narrow theology. The result is a division which cannot be bridged between two groups of the clergy, and consequently no cooperation of any kind between the churches represented by their ministers. . . . On the whole, in my opinion, the interdenominational situation in Binghamton is only a degree above open controversy. This side of our church life is not a pleasant picture, but I believe it is a true estimate.

Many of the churches of Binghamton are in a serious plight. Some have suffered from schisms in membership, others are stalemated in their program because of inner controversy.

This has been especially acute among Baptists where the majority of the churches have withdrawn from the Baptist denomination to form a fundamentalistic body.

While some denominations have not been directly affected by this emotional revivalistic movement, over two-thirds of all the pastors reporting indicated the serious effect which this tension is having either on their own membership or on the status of Christianity in the eyes of the community. Where such strife exists it occupies the center of the religious stage, and the handling of other problems cannot be considered without reference to it. Yet it must be remembered that in spite of the conflict the majority of the churches continue to carry forward their regular programs of worship services, church school, personal ministry, and the administration of the sacraments. Some have developed a community program to serve not simply their own members but also the underprivileged in the immediate neighborhood. However, judging by the replies of ministers, this is less characteristic of Binghamton than of other industrial cities.

Winston-Salem differs from northern cities in its religious life just as it does in its population composition. The great tides of immigration which swept across the northern states from the post Civil War period until the years of the World War left the south practically untouched. Prior to that time the population of the United States was overwhelmingly Protestant, and so it still remains throughout the south. The southern religious and cultural traditions have assured the church a position of greater dominance than in the north. For example, in Winston-Salem there are as many officers and students in the Sunday schools as there are persons in the total population of the city under twenty years of age.

Again in accordance with the pattern in the southern states there is a relatively high percentage of church membership, six out of ten adults having some religious affiliation, compared with five out of ten for the nation. As in Montgomery, the strongest families of churches are the Baptist and the Methodist, between them serving seventy-one of the city's hundred twenty-seven churches and two-thirds of all the church members. These denominations thrive among colored folk as well as among whites. The Moravian

Church, which has been closely linked with the city, especially in its early development, has its headquarters for the Southern Province in Winston-Salem. Third in point of membership, it has twelve churches, one being for colored members. Much of picturesqueness and religious renown is brought to the city by its colorful Easter service and its love feasts.

Four out of every five holding church membership in Winston-Salem belong to a Baptist, a Methodist, or a Moravian church. There are, however, strong churches of other denominations; for example, the one Episcopal church which serves white people is an effective, well organized unit housed in an impressive Gothic structure. The non-Protestant religious organizations, including the Christian Science, Jewish and Roman Catholic groups, serve scarcely one per cent of the total population. In contrast with northern cities, Winston-Salem has only one Catholic church and one Jewish synagogue.

Winston-Salem stands in happy contrast to Binghamton in the matter of theological controversy. Perhaps this is because there is a general theological conservatism which has not been disrupted to any marked extent, with the result that a peaceful relationship exists among the churches.

Tacoma, located in the Pacific northwest, stands midway between the solidly Protestant Winston-Salem and such cities as Binghamton or Scranton where one-half of the church members are in the Roman Catholic fold. Approximately one in four of Tacoma's churched adults is Catholic. The leading Protestant denominations are Methodist, Presbyterian, Lutheran, and Baptist. However, Tacoma, like most of the west coast cities, has a very low rate of membership, considerably less than half of the total adult population being churched.

The large number of unchurched is due in part to what may be called the " west coast " influence. In the three Pacific coast states the mobility rate is high; good roads, good weather, and the largest per capita car ownership characterize the area. These make for a holiday mood and an unsettled attitude toward life and toward

the community. People from the east find the spirit contagious when they arrive, and cast off many restraints, inhibitions, and feelings of obligation which marked their lives in the old home town. They recognize the value of the church but hesitate to assume responsibilities in a local organization. The result is that there are more unchurched people in the west than anywhere else in the nation.

Another factor helps to explain the low rate of church membership. This territory is not many decades removed from the pioneer stage, which is characterized by a heavy preponderance of adult males in the population and by a spirit of unconventionality which gives scant heed to the " sky pilot." This situation is changing; the proportion of church members in the Tacoma population has more than doubled since 1906 and the likelihood is that the trend will continue as the city grows older and becomes more stable. However, this is still a critical problem for Tacoma ministers.

Religion and the Community

A small town has a certain unity of structure and interest, but a city of a hundred thousand inhabitants has contrasting areas which are in process of becoming more or less distinct and self-conscious communities, not only because of the differences in income level of the people who live in two adjacent districts but also because of the physical barriers which more or less effectively separate them. These barriers or community boundaries tend to be more clearly defined in industrial than in commercial cities, for every set of railroad tracks, every manufacturing plant, acts as a wall to separate neighboring communities. The larger number of such geographically divisive agents tends to accentuate community consciousness; this in turn has a bearing on the program of the local church.

Unlike the industrial suburb, which attracts chiefly people of the middle and lower middle working classes, the industrial city has place for considerable economic and cultural diversity. It has its

poorer districts, which some refer to as the slums; but it also has " better " residential areas. While they may not as yet be distinct communities they perform much the same social function that the residential suburb does for the metropolis. There is also a greater variety of communities in industrial than in commercial cities. The extremes of poverty and wealth are more in evidence. The development of mills causes the workers from these plants to locate their homes near by in the more convenient and lower-rent areas. As the concentration of workers increases there is mounting pressure on dissimilar elements to withdraw from the neighborhood, and thus class and community consciousness are heightened. This presents a set of problems which one minister recognizes in his effort to " coordinate a group of young people representing wealthy, middle class, and very poor homes."

A natural result of this increased diversity among the communities of a city is that the churches themselves become more conscious of their responsibility to the local area. Relatively little attention to the problems of the community was given in the reports of ministers in commercial cities; a change in emphasis was noticeable in the replies of pastors from industrial centers. While some, to be sure, when asked concerning problems in the local community, reported that there were " none in particular," almost half of them not only noted spiritual and other needs within the local area but also acknowledged the responsibility of their church to give assistance.

Perhaps this heightened community consciousness of the pastors is at least in part a reaction to the evident indifference of the community to organized religion. They are sensitive to the fact that the church is not accepted as an important institution in their communities simply on the basis of its years of service or its traditions. Indeed, as the ministers themselves say, " the city is totally indifferent to the church " and the basic problem is " to get it to take the church seriously." It would seem, judging by the replies, that the church has less status in the industrial than in the commercial city in spite of the fact that there are more church

members reported, and that people appear to be more indifferent; and many of the ministers, no longer finding them coming for help, have resolved to go out to the people.

Religious Objectives

It is not surprising that there is a marked similarity between the hopes and plans of pastors in industrial and commercial cities. Here, as elsewhere, some formulate their objectives in simple, concise, conventional religious terminology: "We try to appeal both to our own and the unchurched by the simple preaching of the gospel," or to "edify the saved and save the lost." Others have as their one objective the maintenance of their local institution, keeping the machinery running. A few mention problems arising out of the work life of the people, but the majority are only vaguely aware of the increasing importance of industry.

The most prominent difference between the stated objectives of ministers in industrial and in commercial cities is the stronger emphasis on the community life in the former type. A person analyzing responses from pastors in these two types of city could not fail to be impressed with this fact. A typical and well balanced statement of objectives is this:

> Deepen spiritual life of the church; bring to bear upon the community the impact of the personality and message of Christ; make my people better citizens; give to as many as possible an opportunity to make a personal contribution to the life of the church.

It is obvious that the increase of industry is bringing about a change not only in ecclesiastical objectives but also in program. This fact has an interesting bearing on a rather widely held theory that the church is essentially a rural institution which has been transplanted to the city environment, but which has as yet not been particularly successful in adjusting to it. Pastors in commercial cities do in the main seem to view their work in much the same light as ministers in small towns. For them the task is "to care for the sheep," conduct the regular services of the church, attend the

sick, serve as religious counselors and mentors. With the waxing of industrial activity, the church, like the city, undergoes a change. Whether this is because industrial communities appear to be more indifferent to organized religion or because the ministers are more far-sighted is difficult to say; but that the pastors' concern has broadened beyond the limits of their own flocks is clear. One pastor writes:

> I aim to create a miniature kingdom of God in the church and in the community; to create an atmosphere in which the principles of Christ's teachings will grow not only in individual lives but in the corporate life of the community; to teach and preach the social as well as the individual gospel.

Not every minister has such an outlook on his task, but this is typical of responses which have come from every industrial city. One person even suggested that

> some sections of the city could get along with half the ministers and twice as many workers to look after church schools, recreational and musical leadership and dramatics among the people.

Alert religious leaders are anxious not only to encourage their own lay people to assume obligations in the community, such as participation in the community chest drive or service on the Y. M. C. A. board of directors, but also to teach them to understand and serve their "inarticulate neighbors."

> We wish to make the community know that notwithstanding the fact no membership is held in the church, as such, the people of the community should, and we expect it, call upon the minister and church people for any help needed; that we are anxious to minister to the adults and children.

To serve both members and nonmembers in the community more effectively the program of the churches in industrial cities has been broadened to include a wide variety of activities rarely found in commercial city churches. Certain elements have been introduced to aid the underprivileged: nursery and kindergarten schools to care for the children of working women; a class

in child care and hygiene for the benefit of untrained mothers; WPA classes giving courses in citizenship, Spanish, handicrafts; and general social welfare work among the needy. A few churches operate summer camps for boys and girls who could not otherwise enjoy a holiday in the open country.

Plays, pageants, lectures, movies, organ recitals are designed to appeal to all groups, member or nonmember. One church has an orchestra which meets regularly, not for the edification of the neighbors but for the joy of self-expression. Another conducts an annual music festival. In a social program designed to appeal to all age and sex groups are other items: men's community club, interdenominational mothers' club, young ladies' social club, bowling league. Two churches with white memberships report conducting club work for Negro boys in the neighborhood. Some make a practice of lending their sanctuary for the use of foreign-language groups (as Armenian, Italian, Welsh) or deaf-mutes for weekly or monthly services. To conduct such programs the churches are open more of the time, many every evening, and some throughout the whole day. Pastoral calling has extended to include hospitals, county homes, jails, and even industrial shops where noonday services are occasionally held.

Another interesting development is the emphasis placed by many churches on " personality adjustment." The increased complexity and tensions associated with industrial society make this service more necessary. Pastors have taken courses in counseling and mental health and have established office hours when they are available to men and women in the local community who come for advice or for reference to some professional agency better prepared to cope with their particular problem. Domestic counseling and forum groups discussing marital and parent-child relationships are becoming more common features of the program. One church conducts an annual course on courtship.

This heightened emphasis on the community and its problems is also reflected in the increased concern evidenced by ministers over conditions of vice, intoxication and gambling. It is not sur-

prising that, considering the variety in population elements in industrial cities — with the associated cultural differences — such community problems will arise. A city like Peoria, in which the distilling of whiskey is an important industry, will be particularly plagued by the presence of taverns and the concomitant evils of gambling and vice, as numerous ministers testify. While a few preachers deal with such an issue by insisting that " our chief competitor is the devil and his agents," the majority face it as a problem in community hygiene, which is capable of solution and which the church cannot afford to ignore. Unfortunately the membership does not always support its minister in such endeavors:

> Various moral and social issues confront the city in which it would welcome the support of the church. My church does not cooperate.

However, it is a specific objective of the majority of ministers to Christianize their community as well as its individual members.

The Church Has Its Problems

The difficulties and perplexities which plague the minister in the commercial city, such as raising the budget, are not foreign to his fellow worker in the more industrialized town; but the latter does have certain additional problems of his own.

1. For example, the changing policies of industrial executives, expansion or contraction of local plants, and seasonal activity in the factories, cause the industrial city to have an even higher mobility rate than its commercial sister. A pastor in Winston-Salem refers to " the floating class of people who come in and do factory work for a while, but soon go somewhere else." The constant coming and going of people augments greatly the work of the pastor, tends to increase the financial problem because of a lessened sense of responsibility on the part of the foot-loose, and at the same time increases the difficulty of securing dependable lay leadership.

The greater the mobility rate in the community the more impor-

tant is it that the church preserve continuity in its own organization through long-term pastorates. This, however, it usually fails to do, the average term of Methodist pastors in cities being three years. The records of other denominations are similar.

The extraordinarily large turnover of pastors of the Protestant churches is a problem in the community, several leaving under clouds occasioned by disagreements with congregations. I am the senior pastor in this neighborhood, although I have been here less than four years.

A long-time view of this constant shifting of ministers is startling. In a study of the seven churches of one denomination in a particular city it was found that at least one change of pastors occurred every single year from 1890 to the present, with the single exception of the year 1931.

2. The heightened mobility rate tends to increase rather than diminish the tension between the downtown and community churches in the same denomination. The central churches are forced to reach out farther for their membership, due to the fact that there has been a more complete withdrawal of the older population from the downtown areas, these groups being replaced, if at all, by a non-Protestant population. As one minister states it: "We have no local community but are surrounded by business." Another complains:

We have to persuade people to come downtown two or three miles away from a residential section in which there are three other Presbyterian churches.

A typical reply from the church on the periphery protests against the utter disregard which other churches have of the natural boundaries of the parish of this church.

A similar response from another city is:

Our small Methodist churches are overshadowed by the program of the large church in the center of the city, which has three thousand members and a large staff of employed workers.

3. These same forces of change tend to increase the number of Catholics and other non-Protestants, especially in northern cities. The older population, chiefly affiliated with various Protestant denominations, maintains its downtown churches but has moved away from the surrounding areas which are pre-empted increasingly by industry. These less desirable sections are occupied by new population groups which bring with them their own cultural institutions, such as the Roman Catholic or Greek Orthodox church or the Jewish synagogue. In this section also will be found some bilingual Protestant churches. These exist for nationalistic as well as religious reasons. As one pastor stated: "We seek to arouse community responsibility as well as the natural language feeling." The passage of the years and the withdrawal of oncoming generations to English-speaking churches leave bilingual institutions with "quite a number of very old folk." An analysis of the age distribution of one such congregation showed that 30 per cent of the total membership was between the ages of forty-five and fifty-four (about three times normal according to the age distribution of the city's population) and 12 per cent more were over fifty-five. In another church, with a German background, 55 per cent of the membership is forty-five years of age or over, while in the city only 25 per cent of the population is in this age group.* Obviously little success has been achieved in such churches in winning the loyalty of the young people, who disagreed with the national and language emphasis of their elders and therefore joined other congregations. The conventional reply from such an institution is, "Serving only members." With the demise of its present following the church will likewise cease to be, unless there is in the near future a sharp change in policy and program.

4. A few ministers are aware of the dominance of older people in their congregations and recognize the need of "enlisting the interest of those ranging in age from twenty-five to forty." Cognizance of this problem has influenced the development of their

* Cf. the population pyramids on p. 156.

programs. One suggests "transferring the leadership into younger hands" that the young people may be built into the life of the church and learn to carry their share of the responsibility. Closely allied is the problem presented by the scarcity of men in the church membership. "The number of husbands that cannot be reached is large; wives are members." A pastor of a church on the edge of Tacoma describes his greatest problem in relation to church membership as

> getting more men to attend church. Many of the men are in the city at work on weekdays, and build and fix up their homes on Sunday.

However, this problem begins with the boys. In most churches more girls than boys become members, and the institution is dominantly female from the ten-year age level on. Doubtless the fact that fewer boys join is due in part to their fathers' indifference. These lads in turn, lacking in habits of church attendance, when they grow up will influence their own children in similar manner. An analysis of the population pyramid for a medium-sized church in an industrial city illustrates this female bias. Out of a total membership of 298, 200 are women and girls; of these 141 are over thirty-five years of age. This church suffers not only from a deficiency of men and boys but also from a deficiency of youth, in spite of the fact that there is a normal proportion of young people in the community. Each year young people must be recruited if the membership is to be maintained through the decades. Where this is not done a scar will show on the population pyramid which probably will never be eradicated.

5. As in other types of cities, religious leaders lament the "lack of zeal and woeful lack of understanding of what it means to follow Christ." As one pastor says:

> My people are members in name but not genuinely at heart, mistaking church membership for kingdom membership.

Some ministers are more concerned about the conventional observances of religion, while others are distressed by "the failure to develop Christian character in all its implications for social and

community life." These latter are anxious to prevent the church from becoming a class institution which gives members of a privileged economic group the satisfactions of religious worship but does not stimulate them to spiritual achievement. One discerning pastor reports that his church is

> separated from the wealthier people by what both the church and the wealthier people seem to think is one step — and separated from the extremely poor in the same way.

For alert religious leaders problems are the obverse side of programs. The church's recognition of the difficulties which confront it is a good omen, affording as it does the basis for improvement and growth.

Between the Denominations

One or another type of interdenominational church council will be found in nearly all industrial cities. In some cases this is simply a ministerial association, meeting once a month to hear visiting lecturers or to plan a community Lenten service. In other instances it is a closely knit organization to which the churches in from five to fifteen denominations belong, with a paid secretary and a full set of functioning committees.

These councils generally seem to have their rise because of two contrasting influences: (1) In commercial centers loyalty to the community and pride in the city as well as mutual religious interests may produce an association for ministers just as they do a chamber of commerce or a Rotary club for businessmen. (2) In a great city the bafflement which results from the complexity of social forces may compel a degree of cooperation purely as a measure of self-defense and economy. The former drive operates with greater effectiveness in medium-sized cities, especially those which are of the independent commercial type. The latter drive would appear to be more effective for producing united action in the metropolis.

The industrial city, with more sharply demarcated population

groups, is less of a unit than the commercial city. If this generalization be correct one might predict that interchurch cooperation would be less effective in industrial than in commercial centers. Such appears to be the case, in spite of the fact that some municipalities, like Scranton and Winston-Salem, have strong, well organized councils. Even though most industrial cities have an interdenominational association, few ministers regard it as of sufficient importance to mention; this is in contrast to responses from commercial cities. There appears to be less wholehearted, enthusiastic, and extensive interdenominational cooperation in industrial centers, the majority of churches concentrating on their own individual tasks. Three ministers in different denominations, writing of the same industrial city, report:

A sadly divided Christendom.

This community is not overchurched, thank goodness, but the churches do not cooperate as they might.

Most churches in the city are very conservative in theology and individualistic; each goes its own way.

Many other quotations with similar purport could be presented from this same city.

One reason for the relative weakness of interchurch cooperation is the militant fundamentalist movement in three of the cities which were studied. This not only causes cleavage between "liberal" and "conservative" churches, but also creates suspicion and tension within institutions which fear for their own security. Thus a minister writes:

Many fundamentalist groups are here within all of our churches. I have been tempted to make a study of about seventy-five "storeroom" gospel tabernacles, Pentecostal halls, etc., which are located here.

In another city, three of the leading churches from as many denominations

have split over the modernist-fundamentalist question in the past fifteen months. (There are many other literalist-teaching churches.) These, together with two independent churches which have been formed after splits, proselyte freely. Difficulty in effecting cooperation of Protestant churches results from this condition.

Speaking concerning the methods employed by some of the schismatic fundamentalists the pastor of another conservative church states, " Although we hold with them in doctrine, we cannot in action." Other cities appear to be much freer from this type of tension. Only further study will reveal whether the presence of doctrinal conflicts is more characteristic of industrial than of commercial cities. Apparently, however, this type of tension is again on the increase throughout the country and seems to focus in certain centers.

The overlapping of churches appears to be a much more serious problem in some places than others. For example, in one midwest town there are twelve churches in an area four blocks square, with others in the immediate vicinity. It is a cause for encouragement, however, that this situation is not characteristic of all communities; in some there is almost unanimous agreement that overchurching is not a serious problem. Apart from the fundamentalist-modernist conflict there appears to be very little unfriendly competition between churches of the different denominations. This is fortunate, since the task before organized religion is great if it aims to reach the unchurched, the forty per cent of all men and women, and boys and girls over thirteen years of age, in industrial cities who have no avowed relationship to any religious institution.

12

The Church in the Industrial Suburb

THE TRAITS which distinguish the industrial city from her commercial sister are present to an even greater degree in the industrial suburb because of its marked concentration on manufacturing. Here, however, the difference is one not merely of degree but also of type; for while the suburb grows in part by an influx of people from its hinterland its chief population source is the neighboring city. Indeed, except for the metropolis to which it is adjoined, it would probably never have risen above the level of the small town. It is dependent on the larger city not only for population but also for the industries which have moved to it and which flourish only because of the advantages afforded by a great metropolitan area.

Some industrial suburbs have not had the gradual growth which characterizes a city in the center of its own hinterland, but arose suddenly, when a great corporation waved its magic wand. Such centers as Gary and Dearborn have been industrial from the start, and consequently have drawn only those people to whom such a community makes an economic or cultural appeal. Others (Lynn, Elizabeth and, to a degree, Yonkers) have become such "by conversion." Once pleasant residential towns, the delight of commuters, they first welcomed and then were overwhelmed by invading industry. The presence of new peoples who flowed in to fill the beckoning industrial jobs produced cultural tensions and caused many who thought their "social position" threatened to move to other towns. This movement also is part of the process of population selection. A minister from one such suburb writes:

We have a spirit of racial antagonism; Italian and Negro groups have no facilities for community life. There is political and economic exploitation of them. This city is a group of segregated communities with little interest in civic affairs except as they affect our section.

The disappearance of those who have been the community's standard-bearers results in the crumbling of the older traditions and civic consciousness. This is accentuated by the rapid inflow of new and diverse population groups which cannot be readily assimilated. As indicated in chapter 5, the industrial suburb is predominantly occupied by immigrants and their children. The tension between these two generations, involving the disintegration of Old World cultures and the adoption of the new, creates much misunderstanding between parents and children, producing a measure of family disorganization as well as other forms of social maladjustment — restlessness, delinquency, and the weakening of moral codes. All of these factors have an influence on the community and on the church.

The Effects on the Patterns of Organized Religion

Every factor shaping the life of man also influences his church. The dominance of manufacturing in the suburb ties the church closely to the whole industrial process. Where wages are low, social institutions, the church included, suffer. When unemployment stalks the streets additional problems are laid on the church's doorstep, while its ability to meet these increased demands is restricted by shortage of funds. Church attendance is affected by the shift system in the large mills and factories which operate continuously, and it is difficult to persuade men to assume leadership, since they can be present only on alternate Sundays or perhaps on one in three. When an official board assembles in a church serving steel workers, it seldom happens that more than half of the male members can be present; the rest are in the mills.

The intensity and strain resulting from high-speed industrial production, the feeling of economic insecurity which hovers over

nearly every wage earner, the omnipresent, smoke-belching factory, produce in people social and psychic reactions of which the church must be cognizant. In the relatively calm and stable commercial city which treats its citizens more gently there are fewer cases of personality disorganization. In the suburb, however, on Saturday night many a worker, reacting from the tension of the week, wishes to cut loose from the whole of conventional living, forget himself and his responsibilities, and "have a big time." It is no wonder that the church does not see him the next day. Only as the minister understands sympathetically the problems of the laboring man will he find much community response to the program of the church. He must identify himself with the community, its fears and worries, and also its hopes, many of which are vague and ill-defined.

The same influences which attracted central and southern Europeans to the industrial city drew others with this cultural background to "the workshop of the nation," the industrial suburb. The Roman Catholic church and the Jewish synagogue, the dominant religious institutions of these people, were brought by them to their new home. For instance, in Paterson, which according to the federal census is one of the most completely churched cities in the country, with about three-fourths of its adult population belonging to some religious institution, one-half of the church members are Roman Catholics and over a fifth are Jews. The Protestant denominations divide a fourth among them. The reason for the weakness of Protestantism is certainly not that it has too few churches: with less than a third of the membership, it possesses approximately two-thirds of the churches. The importance of the Catholic Church can be accounted for only in terms of the population selection of the city itself.

The majority of industrial suburbs are less well churched. At the other extreme is Cicero, predominantly Czechoslovak in population. Only thirty-six out of every hundred adults are connected with any religious institution; of these, thirty belong to the Roman Catholic Church. The background of these Bohe-

mian peoples, with their traditional "free-thinking" societies, influences the religious life of the suburb.

This example raises an interesting point concerning the changes that are taking place in the cultural life of first and second generation immigrant groups in industrial centers. The dissolution of the conventional social controls which operated in the Old World and the fact that American patterns are not clearly defined in immigrant communities have had a twofold effect on religious life. The church, whether Protestant or Catholic, suffers from the disappearance of the notions of authority which had been tacitly accepted and which have aided in the maintenance of member loyalty. This weakening of social controls has lowered the prestige of the church in the community and has also lessened its economic security. On the other hand, the wholehearted allegiance of the Bohemians to their free-thinking societies is also beginning to waver, and it is a matter of concern to many a Czech parent that his children are no longer as devout atheists as he and his wife. Authorities in the public schools of Cicero report that whereas ten years ago it would have been impossible to utilize the services of a minister in any way in the schools, this attitude is now changing and occasionally some religious leader will be permitted to speak before a student group, with no opposition from the students themselves and little from their parents. This fact is of significance to all interested in religion or in social change. It would seem that loyalty to the church on the part of some groups, and antagonism toward it on the part of others, have both undergone a change and are no longer as definitely a part of the mores. Neither the religious nor the antireligious authoritarian view is accepted unquestioningly by the young people. It follows that organized religion can exercise growing influence in such communities only if it succeeds in meeting the manifold and recognized spiritual needs of the people, and does not depend for its prestige on abstract or theoretical religious authority.

As yet the importance of this approach is only partially recog-

nized. Although the narrow and sectarian emphasis is less pronounced in industrial suburbs than in the urban types already considered, Protestantism is frequently apologetic and on the defensive. Many of the churches are small, poorly located and housed, and inadequately financed; their members, surrounded by non-Protestants, have developed a feeling of inferiority and a defeatist psychology, an attitude which is one of the chief handicaps to their work.

Some churches which once flourished but have since been overwhelmed by the newcomers have been unwilling to adjust their program to meet the changing community needs, with the result that as old members move away the struggle to maintain the organization becomes increasingly acute. Members who are still connected with the church and neighborhood feel bitter toward the "intruders." This of course makes reconciliation between community and church well-nigh impossible. Fortunately, in practically every city studied there are not a few churches which have been conspicuously successful in maintaining a position of leadership and service to the local community without any diminution of spiritual earnestness or religious insight.

Specialized Church Types

The study of adaptation in human institutions is as interesting and illuminating as the study of adaptations of flora and fauna. Churches, like other organizations, do not adjust themselves to new situations with uniform success, but many have found a niche in the social organization of the industrial suburb which gives them not only opportunities to serve but also a basis for steady expansion.

The bilingual church illustrates an adjustment to an earlier situation. When there was a rapid influx from Europe of Germans or Italians, many of whom had no knowledge of English, it was essential to develop a bilingual program carrying forward work for the adults in Italian and for the children in both Italian and English. This program did not necessarily involve social, recrea-

tional, or community features, but usually was merely an attempt to carry over the conventional American church services through the native tongue of the people. Many such institutions are continuing to perform valued services, not only for the language group but also for the community. However, the passage of time, involving the death of the older members and the disappearance of the language barrier, makes this increasingly an outmoded pattern of action. The minister of a small suburban German church (forty-five members) indicates that there are many Italians and Negroes in the neighborhood but states: "Our program is designed to reach Germans and persons of German descent, members or nonmembers." It is not surprising that fewer than one-half the members of his church live within a radius of a mile, for these people have long since moved from the community and the church cannot recruit new members (i. e., "persons of German descent") locally. Obviously it will become more and more difficult for the minister to fulfill his objective, "to bring Christ to the German-speaking people of this town, in the belief that they hardly would join an English-speaking church." Evidently they are not joining his. His chief problem, apart from the influx of Italians and Negroes, is that there "is practically no immigration from Germany."

This case illustrates how an adaptation successful in one period may be unsuitable a few decades later. Ministers, laymen, and mission boards would do well to lay plans for the discontinuance of such bilingual work in the next two decades, since it is almost certain that the immigration policy of the government will not change. Toward that end they should not encourage men to prepare for the bilingual ministry who cannot also speak fluently and clearly in English.

Another adaptation to the industrial suburb — also found in a few cases in the industrial city — is the institutional church. Many ministers and countless laymen recognize the church's responsibility to serve the people of the neighborhood as well as the church members who have moved away, and aim to meet

social, educational, and recreational needs, and to provide for spiritual welfare through conventional services. This is done with the idea not of proselyting but rather of reaching the thousands of children and adults found in every area who have no connection with any religious organization. Rare indeed is the community which does not have at least one-third its total population unchurched. But frequently the people are not so adverse to the church as they are assumed to be by a minister who has made little effort to reach them. Many can be reached, if the church actively seeks them out and does not expect them to take the initiative.

The institutional church, by the very nature of its program and the economic status of those whom it serves, is dependent for part of its support on endowment, on funds from denominational headquarters, or on a grant from the community chest fund. The program requires a staff of paid or volunteer workers who are both in sympathy with the project and possessed of the skills and personal qualities which will make them good exponents of the Christian way of life. The importance of the institutional church, serving a social as well as a religious purpose, should be recognized by other more fortunate Christians who do not have to live in the industrial area. It is essentially an interpreter of one economic class, one racial group, to another, showing by deed as well as by word what Christianity may mean in the life of individuals and society.

Another specialized church type in the industrial suburb is the " mission," usually housed in a small frame structure or a vacant store building, with a program designed for the immediate neighborhood. The majority of such missions confine their activities to preaching, exhortation, and revivalistic meetings, coupled with a Sunday school program. They make an appeal decidedly different from that of the less emotional institutional church. Some missions provide bread and soup for those who remain for the after-meeting; most do not. Others, in connection with the Sunday school work, specialize in a play and club program for children;

usually a daily vacation Bible school is operated during the summer. One thing, however, all missions have in common: they can be maintained only if the leaders have a devout, almost passionate interest in the people of the area. It is this evident absence of barriers between the leaders and the community which provides an open-sesame for the organization. It is possible that the Protestantism of the future will find it just as advisable to establish carefully supervised missions with an intelligent and effective program in slum areas or on the outskirts of the city (unless these are otherwise churched) as the public health authorities find it to open clinics. The latter realize that the people of the neighborhood will not go to the city hall or hospital a mile away to be served and that the only way to build up health in the community is to incur the trouble and expense of maintaining local neighborhood units.

Many churches, not included in the above types, flourish or struggle along on a bare subsistence level in industrial suburbs. Their program may be the conventional one of the central, city-wide church, or the humble society in the workingman's area. The location however and the specific needs of its own community determine the nature of the church's responsibility; the success with which these needs are met will have a direct bearing not only on its present condition but also on its future state of health.

Religious Patterns Differ with the Suburb

The differences in the history and industrial life of the various suburbs are matched by contrasts in the religious patterns.

Lynn is a well churched community, with almost sixty out of every hundred adults having some religious connection. Over half of these, one out of every three in the entire population, are Roman Catholics. This strength

makes other groups very much aware of their presence and power in community life, especially the political life of the city. We have a Catholic mayor, a Catholic governor of the state, a Catholic commissioner of education for the state, and Catholic officials in many

other key positions in both city and commonwealth. However, the Catholic population sets a good example in church loyalty and attendance to laggard Protestants, and in general the competition keeps the Protestants alive to their peculiar genius and work as they might not otherwise be.

This dominance of Catholics is to be expected because of the population composition of Lynn. Other religious organizations are comparatively weak. The Jewish synagogue ranks next to the Catholic Church in membership and serves as many as all the Baptist and Methodist churches combined. Congregationalism, strong in most sections of New England, claims fewer than two per cent of the people in Lynn.

This city has a long history and has undergone many changes. Population of the " old stock " has largely moved away, and Russians, Italians, Poles, Jews, and Greeks as well as English, Irish, and French-Canadians have swept in. These groups have established their own churches, which are now flourishing. However there is no open antagonism between the old and the new; ministers of the established Protestant institutions continue to have the respect of the townspeople and are able to influence public opinion on community issues to a considerable degree. Nevertheless it is evident from the replies of many ministers that the prospects for Protestantism are not encouraging:

No churches are making any great changes, nor have done so during the past ten years. The physical equipment remains about the same. There are several small churches in the growing residential sections, but they do not seem to be growing rapidly.

Too many churches, many of them dead or dying. Recent investigation reveals that only one church of my denomination made an advance in recent years in Lynn, and all are having a hard time.

Many another minister speaks of overchurching, although none accuses his fellows of proselyting or other unfair practices. A number recognize that over one-third of the people of Lynn, many with a Protestant background, have no church connection. This,

however, is the problem of most cities and cannot be solved by any sudden or spasmodic effort.

Dearborn is a much younger city than either Lynn or Paterson, growing from twenty-five hundred to eighty-five thousand inhabitants since 1920. Relatively few of these people are foreign-born; most have come from rural America, either directly or by way of Detroit. Consequently Dearborn differs from other industrial suburbs in its cultural background. One result of this difference is that Protestantism is proportionately stronger here than in the older suburbs, a large percentage of whose population is foreign-born. Dearborn is worthy of attention because of its rapid growth and the distinctive problems faced by its churches.

Organized religion seems to be most effective where the people have deep roots. Stability and the feeling of community associated with it furnish fertile soil for community institutions such as the church. Where there is a high mobility rate, as in Dearborn, where employment peaks which suck in labor from surrounding territories are followed by unemployment which forces the workers out again, it is difficult to produce community consciousness and, for the same reasons, to develop strong churches.

Another difficulty facing these congregations rises out of the fact that many of their buildings were erected toward the close of the prosperity period or during the early stages of the depression. The result is that Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and other churches are heavily in debt. Their members are again earning, but for several years the whole city, Ford employees and shopkeepers alike, suffered acutely from the economic situation. Dearborn is a one-industry town and the depression hit that industry. It can scarcely be said that Dearborn is overchurched, yet most of the churches, irrespective of denomination, are having financial difficulties, a direct reflection of community conditions.

One other point should be noted. When a town and its institutions depend on one corporation for sustenance, the industrialist who controls that corporation becomes a very important personage for the whole city. He may be arbitrarily opposed to

social change in workingmen's organizations even while he welcomes technical improvements in his plants. In such cities ministers may be informed directly or indirectly that they are there to lead people toward God, to conduct worship services and administer the sacraments, not to preach a social gospel. This policy is effectively urged not only by the industrialist himself but by many influential townspeople who do not wish any labor disturbance or who fear the effect of a strike on general business. One may wonder what the influence of such a policy will be on a minister, whether he conforms or whether he refuses to do so, and on the workingmen in their attitude toward the church. Here is a problem which cannot be evaded and the course chosen will certainly influence the future of the church and perhaps of the city and industry.

Objectives

Most of the ministers who are serving churches in the industrial suburbs, as might be expected, state their objectives in much the same terms as do those working in other communities. They emphasize the spiritual values of worship, the need for salvation, the smooth functioning of the local institution, and the overcoming of indifference, particularly in young people.

However, some ministers serving industrial suburbs do state certain distinctive aims. The first of these and the one on which there is most unanimity is "the creation of a Christian community." There may be no essential correlation between the rising rate of industrial activity as one moves from commercial to industrial city and then to industrial suburb, and the heightened consciousness of community responsibility on the part of the ministers; nevertheless these two trends are parallel and clearly evident. Also parallel is the presence of an increasingly large number of foreign-born people, to reach whom it is necessary to provide a community program. In any case, the religious leaders seem to be more aware of social issues, of economic injustice, of the dangers of racial prejudice, and also of the church's obligation to

serve all persons regardless of skin color or economic standing. This is not to say that ministers in commercial cities would not be as sensitive to these problems if they had to face them in a similar situation.

Thirty-seven out of the sixty-five ministers from industrial suburbs who replied to the questionnaire explicitly acknowledged their responsibility to serve the community and not simply the membership. Only ten reported that their programs were devoid of community interest. The attitude of the majority may be summarized by quoting a pastor from Dearborn:

> My objective: primarily to cultivate Christian idealism and practice in the community at large. We are far more interested in building the kingdom of God, in saturating the community with its spirit, than in increasing the membership or becoming a slave to mass meetings.

Problems and Programs

The church in the industrial suburb faces a number of difficult problems.

1. There are two schools of ministers in the industrial suburb when the function of the church is under discussion. According to one, the church should preach the gospel, convert sinners, and "edify" the saved; club and class work is secondary, if it should exist at all. Says one minister:

> Our program is based on the belief that whatever does not lead to a conversion to Christianity is inexcusable waste on the part of a Christian church.

Another minister with a similar view feels that one of his chief problems consists in the fact that

> our people for the most part [are] devoid of respect for the Sabbath. Officers as well as members think nothing of buying things on Sunday or going to amusements.

Certain pastors with a program for nonmember children will permit these youngsters to play in the gymnasium or come to the club only provided they attend Sunday school. It is their opinion

that the church is justified in using its funds only where there is a hope of converting the child or adult to the Christian faith. In contrast the majority of ministers who emphasize the community-centered program set up no such limitations. They state their position somewhat as follows: The church has a contribution to make to the whole of life. Teaching of the Bible is important, but we must first win the confidence of the child through discovering his interests and supplying a program to challenge them. If we do our work well he will wish to join the religious as well as the social fellowship.

It is not the function of this book to approve or condemn either of these theories of missionary responsibility. However, it is proper to note that the viewpoint first stated delimits the contacts of the church in the local area and automatically applies a selective principle which will bring in only two groups of people: the one, sincere participants who have been won over, and the other, those who fulfill the requirements simply to attain the reward.

2. The problem of mobility is more acute in the industrial suburb than in an independent city. The story is the same in many places:

> We built a beautiful church (1929) in what seemed a growing neighborhood. But the newcomers are largely Catholics and Jews.
>
> Slow but steady shrinkage due to deaths and removals.
>
> The old and well-to-do families are dying out or moving beyond us.

This steady outward pressure of population from the metropolis, bringing in new and strange people and carrying farther out the erstwhile pillars of the church, increases the minister's difficulty in securing able leadership for the church school and the scouting program and in raising funds. Mobility and instability are Siamese twins which, much as they may be deplored, must be taken into account when a new church is to be built or an old one saved.

Church planning, which is desirable in a commercial city, be-

comes imperative in a suburb. A certain minister describes his church as having been well located till an in-movement of Italians and Negroes cut it off from a developing area in which there were a hundred and fifty families who in his opinion would normally look to his church. Actually, however, the institution was not so well located, for it was already separated from the new district by a four-track railroad located a few blocks from the church. The Italians and Negroes moved north along the tracks, in the low-rent interstitial area. This is a situation which a careful survey could have forecast. Now, however, " children must be driven to Sunday school, one mile, or walk through the Negro section, which parents discourage." It would seem that the time has arrived when the various denominations will find it advisable and economical to provide planning boards which will assist local churches to select a new site wisely. Once an expensive building has been erected it cannot readily be moved; consequently, the population shifts of the next twenty-five years must be foreseen if waste and discouragement are to be avoided.

3. A third problem develops as an indirect result of population mobility. When people with other cultural and religious interests begin to take over the community and members of the Protestant churches move away, there is always danger that a defeatist psychology will develop. One minister who is serving a church in an area occupied chiefly by Poles, Lithuanians, and Italians, writes:

> My first task has been to build up the morale of the church itself. . . . I am trying to destroy the inferiority complex which has troubled the church through all its existence, to make the membership church-conscious and unashamed.

A pastor in a suburb a thousand miles away notices that the preponderance of Jews in his community has influenced the attitude of his church members so that they no longer find the same satisfaction in the Christian celebrations.

Ministers themselves frequently lose courage in such situations.

In spite of the fact that there is a morbid tendency to overrate the size of other religious groups in a local community as an excuse for one's own poor showing, it might as well be frankly recognized that a Protestant church located in a community which is being peopled by southern Europeans and their immediate descendants will have a difficult and discouraging time indeed, and the minister will have many a headache, if the program is designed primarily for the old, native-white membership of the church. A religious leader suggests that " we must get together or pass out of the picture." However, even the uniting of churches will not solve the problem unless the united church will send roots deep into the local community life. Morale can best be maintained through a program which is vital and alive.

4. A problem of a different nature is that of reaching the youth. While this problem is not peculiar to the industrial suburb it is accentuated there because of the cultural changes which are taking place. One minister writes:

> Our youth are a heartbreaking problem. The social program, the recreation activities are all too tame for them. They seem to have lost a good taste for the fine and the beautiful. This appears with older young people and hardly at all with younger groups. The age group from twelve to eighteen are coming along splendidly. Those from around nineteen to twenty-five are adrift.

One wonders if the younger children will not follow the pattern of their older brothers and sisters when they themselves reach later adolescence. Obviously religious leaders must possess great understanding and tact if they are to hold the confidence of young people and assist them in the development of life attitudes. Some churches, through a well integrated youth program, have been able to reduce juvenile delinquency in their district. Religion *can* affect life.

Ministers from several suburbs are disturbed by " the difficulty of growing ' from below,' " by which they mean that, though the church school flourishes, the children do not make the transition to church membership. Children lose interest and drop out dur-

ing the teen years, or become so enwrapped in the church school program that they think of it as an end in itself and resent any interference on the part of the church. From one industrial suburb a minister writes:

> Here the Sunday school has supplanted the church. We cannot get any considerable number of our children and young people in the church worship. . . . Unless a change comes fifteen years will witness many churches going out of business.

Religious educators may say that the fault lies with the services of worship; but certainly, in the minds of numerous ministers, the church school operates almost as a parasitic institution, drawing support from the church but being unwilling to assume proportionate obligations or to lead the children into membership.

An aspect of the youth problem is " the carelessness of parents and their lack of interest in cultivating the religious life of children." The minister of another church adds:

> Seventy per cent of the Sunday school children come from homes which have nothing to do with the church or religion except to send their children.

A third pastor refers to the difficulty of contacting people in their homes, even the parents of the children in his own church school.

The many disorganizing influences of a heterogeneous community will inevitably affect the attitudes of children as well as of adults. If the parents have no clearly defined goals in life they can scarcely impart such to their children. The church may make a contribution to the latters' spiritual guidance, but it is a much more arduous task because of the necessity of gaining their attention and confidence without parental help.

5. A program for children whose parents are uninterested will naturally have to be of a missionary type, for these parents will not carry their share of the financial burden. The financial problem is usually acute in churches which serve a community that is chiefly non-Protestant or indifferent. The assistance of paid

as well as volunteer workers is frequently required. If a seven-day-week program is to be conducted the staff must be larger, and certainly fuel, light, and repair bills will be greater. Older members are moving away and " the good givers are dying off." If the work is to be continued support must come from another quarter. To secure " enough money really to meet the economic, cultural and spiritual needs of a proletarian area " is an objective of many ministers, but their hair turns gray in trying to attain it.

Summary attention may be given to the program of those churches in the industrial suburb which add supplementary and enriching items to the conventional pattern. Many additional elements have been developed for members and nonmembers: church night programs, dramatics, musicales, forums, literary societies, civic and even garden clubs, women's associations and men's clubs. For children and young people there are scouting programs, Camp Fire Girls' circles, athletic activities including the use of a gymnasium, weekday and vacation church schools, a youth choir school, hikes and camping; one church even has a dancing class. Among the institutional features designed particularly for the local community are day nurseries, child welfare clinics, Americanization and English language classes, libraries, mothers' study clubs, and community nights designed to interest particular racial groups. Services are also held for foreign language congregations: Syrian, Chinese, Italian, and Portuguese. One church is currently conducting a special Sunday evening series for four months, " a project in religious understanding, with people of various faiths participating." Ministers also assume such community responsibilities as speaking in the public schools and to various local societies and groups, as well as carrying a share in the philanthropic and social welfare organizations. While no one church undertakes as many as a fifth of these activities, such a list is evidence of the extent to which many institutions have accepted a place of responsibility and leadership in the local community.

Some Unrecognized Problems

Three types of estrangement occur in areas (such as the industrial suburb) characterized by a large foreign or Negro population. Each provides the church an opportunity for the reconciliation of conflicting groups, yet only a few ministers appear to have recognized any one of them. The first involves the reconciling of old and new population elements. One minister states that his chief problem is

> the re-adaptation of the program of a church, ministering to an exclusive residential area in past years, to an apartment population of business and industrial people, and the necessity of providing a cultural ministry for those who live in an exclusive residential area and also a social program for the industrial groups.

A reconciliation of people who possess different cultural backgrounds and who may feel that they are in economic conflict is not easy, but it would seem to be the function of a church whose membership is in the one group and whose community includes the other to assume this task.

The advent of first and second generation immigrants produces first irritation and resentment and later sharp opposition and prejudice on the part of those who have been in the community for a longer period. As the foreign group becomes dominant the remaining native whites, who perhaps cannot move from the neighborhood, isolate themselves so far as possible from the intruders and resent the church's having anything to do with them, asserting that to encourage them is to depress land values still further. To convert these antagonistic attitudes into appreciation and understanding may well seem a herculean task, but it is one from which the church, with its preachment concerning brotherhood, must not shrink.

A second type of reconciliation involves the leveling of the barriers which separate foreign language groups. The need for this is unfortunately recognized by only a few. The issue is clear to a minister in Cicero who analyzes his objectives as

healing of neighborhood feuds, due to politics, religion and race; uniting of many sects into one real church; holding the children and young people for the future church. . . . The chief divisive factor in our religious life is that of race, although religion is also to be reckoned with. The second generation is showing signs of a wider outlook, and intermarriage is breaking the barriers down, so that there is more hope of a united folk.

Certainly it is an appropriate function of the Christian church to present the claims as well as the contributions of the various racial groups living within the community to one another. This is not readily achieved, partly because of the poor example set by native-born whites, partly because of the economic competition which is felt when one race group threatens to supplant another in a particular industry, partly because of the threat of invasion of "our community" by groups with strange customs and habits. Native whites are not the only ones who evidence race prejudice, for "subordinate" groups have a reciprocal prejudice toward the native-born and in their turn look down on some other people whose status is lower than their own. Jane Addams told of a conversation with a young Italian who lived near Hull House. Other Italians had made the situation so unpleasant for a small Negro church located on the fringe of the area that the Negroes withdrew. Miss Addams asked why the Italian people should act this way, whereas in Italy prejudice would not have been shown against the Negro. He replied: "Well, Miss Addams, I guess it is a sign that we are becoming Americanized." This story may well shock many Christians, yet there is much evidence that the church itself has been unwilling in such communities to surmount prejudice:

> We do let a Negro mission group use our church parlors for meetings, but intensive opposition by older conservative officials had to be overcome to get even this consideration.

The third type of reconciliation which the church in the industrial suburb might well undertake is to interpret the immigrant to his children and vice versa. Between every two generations

misunderstanding is common; between the immigrant and his children it is well-nigh omnipresent. What the Polish, Czech, or Italian father and mother hold dear — the memories of the homeland, the loyalties and fears which are European, the appreciation of the old customs and the pleasure of hearing the native language — these are not and cannot be fully understood by children born in this country. In like manner, the expectations, ambitions, new loyalties of the children and their unwillingness to submit to the Old World traditions and the discipline of their "foreign" parents, puzzle and dismay their elders who dread being called "un-American" and do not know how to guide their children in this strange environment. Only one out of the sixty-five ministers mentioned this problem, although it must occur in practically every community in the industrial suburb.*

While, then, most ministers recognize their obligation to the community and provide a program for various local groups, it will be necessary for them to deal in more specific and definitive form with these problems of reconciliation if they are to reach the countless thousands of the foreign-born and their children, as well as other members of the lower economic classes who have drifted away from the church.

Interdenominational Relations

Vital interdenominational coordination appears, from the reports of ministers, to be practically nonexistent. Only four stated that there was cordial cooperation among the various denominations of their city. Thirteen took exactly the opposite point of view and spoke of overchurching, competition and conflict. Far more indicated that there was no competition "so far as my work is concerned."

It is difficult to understand why persons who have been emphasizing the nonsectarian and community character of their endeavor should be so generally indifferent to cooperation between the denominations; but apparently each minister, eager to carry

* Cf. pp. 271 f.

forward his own church activities, has had little time or effort to expend in developing a city-wide plan or program. Another partial explanation may be that the various suburban churches tend to look to the metropolis for denominational fellowship and missionary aid. Several bemoan the individualistic spirit but hopefully insist that "the Protestant evangelical forces can be depended on when occasion arises."

In most cities there is a ministerial association, but this generally appears to be a weak structure, with spasmodic meetings which are poorly attended:

> I am a member of the ministerial association and I have not heard of a single outstanding community work by the churches of our city.

> Each Protestant church seems so busy promoting its own special program, there is precious little cooperation among the ministers as a whole.

> Ministerial meetings are seldom held. When they are, not more than an eighth or tenth of the congregations are represented. . . . As I see it the preachers are afraid of one another. Proselyting is carried on quite openly. . . . I do not feel the situation is utterly hopeless, but it is disconcerting, and somewhat discouraging so far as united effort is concerned.

The above suggestion apparently has point to it. From another city comes a frank statement which supports this contention:

> Our church, being a conservative church, is faced with the problem of deciding how far we may go in cooperating with the other churches in our community, many of which are extremely liberal in their views. There is, within the city, a splendid spirit of cooperation between the churches brought about mainly by the ministerial fellowship. Our problem is to cooperate without sacrificing those principles for which we stand.

Some condemn their ministerial brethren severely. For example, one sees it thus:

> The real lack is religion on the part of the ministers who think a church is a place to promote their prejudices and traditions. No interest in social welfare and less knowledge about it all.

While this may be a harsh judgment, the evidence seems almost conclusive that there is less interdenominational cooperation in the industrial suburb than in either the industrial or the commercial city.

On the other hand, within such suburbs the need of interchurch planning is more acute. Where there are fewer Protestants, major denominations tend to cluster their churches near the business center, leaving outlying areas relatively neglected. This is poor policy, because it increases the competition between churches and prevents an effective ministry to the whole area. With most of the resources centered in the larger churches, the other congregations have to struggle for their very existence. If these smaller churches are to do more than barely keep the machinery moving it is necessary for them to have suitable equipment, staff and financing. On the basis of united planning and cooperative action adequate support could be given to one or two effective institutions in each of several local communities. More people would be reached and the total cost would be no greater. As is commonly the case, the hope of a strong community program is not realized because we either do not see or are unwilling to follow the immediate and logical next steps.

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The Church in the Residential Suburb

"HOW PLEASANT it must be to live in Newton!" says the denizen of crowded Boston to his more fortunate friend in the residential suburb. "You have no idea how lucky you are to live out here in the midst of trees and flowers, and with pleasant, cultured people." Calmly the suburbanite accepts the homage paid to his economic status and his good judgment.

The residential suburb, the parlor of the metropolis, constitutes a distinct mediopolitan type. It differs from the independent commercial city, which performs all urban functions and has place for all economic classes; it is a specialized community rendering a few distinctive services to the metropolitan area. More or less exclusive, it selects people from the higher economic classes and its occupational and social patterns are definitely in contrast to those in the commercial city.* In like manner, it stands in contrast to the industrial suburb; each has its own function in the metropolitan setting, catering to certain occupational groups, certain economic classes. There are relatively few foreign-born living within the borders of the residential suburb, and these occupy a subordinate position. There are more people over sixty years of age and fewer under thirty-five than in the industrial suburb. This is not only because elderly people can afford and like to settle in such communities, but also because the birth rate among those in the child-bearing years tends to be lower. People who have "status," people who have attained,

* Cf. chap. 6.

are particularly drawn to these centers. It is interesting to note that two hundred thirty persons mentioned in *Who's Who* live in Evanston, while only one, a corporation official, resides in Cicero, a city of the same size.

Traits of Residential Suburbs and the Churches

There are certain characteristics of the residential suburb which profoundly affect the patterns of organized religion. Among the most prominent is rapid population growth and accompanying mobility. This not only involves the settling of newcomers in the community but much shifting of residence on the part of those already there. In a detailed study of Evanston in 1930 covering three-fourths of the entire population, it was revealed that the median length of residence " at the present address " was 3.6 years; in the two sections nearest Chicago, where there are more apartment houses and therefore a lower rate of home ownership and greater mobility, the medians were 2.4 and 2.5 years; i. e., half the people had lived at their present address less than two and a half years. It is not surprising that in such apartment house areas there is less of community consciousness and a poorer support for social institutions than in other sections of the city. The fact that a large proportion of suburbanites earn their living in the metropolis and therefore find their loyalty and interest divided between the two cities makes even more difficult the maintenance of community consciousness.

The people, in or out of the church, have little interest in the community. There is no community spirit in the suburb, or at least little. The city is a place to get away from. The people come here to escape the city, and they certainly are not going to get under its moral or spiritual needs.

A second characteristic of the residential suburb is wealth with its concomitants. Not all persons in the suburb are affluent; some are in the servant group, others, the majority, are in the upper middle class and are " comfortably well off." Accompanying this relative degree of economic security are such social traits as higher

educational standards, a pride in enlightenment and intellectual attainments, an emphasis on social status, some sophistication, and a measure of conscious or unconscious snobbery. Many ministers are painfully aware of these latter traits in their membership. One refers to " the very sophisticated contentment " of his flock. Another states:

> I feel that our problem is to make the people of a privileged community feel their responsibility for the underprivileged of other communities. There is too much smugness and self-complacency. We are trying to battle this.

A third trait of significance to the churches is the crowded social life of the residential suburb. Presumably people would have more free time here than elsewhere. Certainly work hours are shorter and more servants are employed to lighten the task of homemaking. Actually, however, the pressure on one's time seems to be more keenly felt. With the surplus of energy, leadership, and desire for intellectual distinction which characterize such suburbs, there is commonly a plethora of organized life: clubs, reading circles, parent-teacher associations, uplift, reform and social service agencies, secret and fraternal societies, bridge clubs, business and professional associations with their many committees and subcommittees, and so *ad infinitum*. " Too crowded living, too many inconsequential plans."

Not only are there more organizations to belong to and a greater variety of programs to attend (mentioned by many ministers), but there is also a desire to climb socially. " The desire for social connections of advantage, and to be known in the fashionable and popular churches " motivates the religious alignments of some residents. Indeed, it is not uncommon for a woman to work up to a post of some importance in one of the " first " churches, performing its functions diligently until she can gain sufficient status to join the women's club; once she has attained this great desideratum her interest in the church cools rapidly as she transfers her talent and enthusiasm to the work of this more exclusive company.

Residential suburbs are characteristically Protestant,* not because of any inherent difference between the earning powers of Protestants and Catholics but simply because those who came first to this country, with their Protestant tradition, laid out the cities, established the industries, benefited by the real-estate developments, and, being first on the field, were able to gain wealth from the natural resources and population growth. Those who came later were chiefly Catholic or Jewish in religious background, possessed of few financial or other resources and unfamiliar with the ways of the new society. They counted themselves fortunate to secure positions on the lower rungs of the ladder to success, and most who reached the residential suburbs were laborers or artisans. Therefore the Roman Catholic Church, which dominates the industrial suburb, is relatively weak in the exclusive residential areas, where Catholics are ordinarily far outnumbered by Protestants.

In these suburbs, as has been pointed out, there are an upper and a lower social stratum. The upper stratum which sets the patterns tends to be Protestant while the lower, which is made up of the skilled, semi-skilled and domestic workers, is chiefly either Catholic or Negro Protestant. It is these latter groups which live " west of the tracks " or " at the foot of the hill." Indeed, in many a community a Catholic or for that matter a Lutheran church does not succeed well if located " east of the tracks," while on the other hand a Presbyterian church located on the west side will have to struggle for its very existence. The various denominations have their respective locales in which they can prosper, just as certain plants will grow in sandy soil but not in loam, or vice versa.

Characteristics of Organized Religion

Certain distinguishable traits demarcate the religious life in residential communities. While these do not characterize every institution, they are closely associated with the traits which make

* Cf. pp. 230 f.

the suburb a distinctive type and are common to all of the cities in this class.

Clearly recognized by all ministers is the effect on church membership of mobility, which many of them recognize to be one of the concomitants of suburban life. Old members are being transferred to other communities and the making of new contacts is a wearing and often unrewarding task. Many who move to the suburb are very difficult to reach, and in addition they are loath to assume community responsibility. This is particularly true of persons living in apartment houses. " It is no easy task to try to make a pastoral call via the speaking-tube." As the suburb grows the number of non-homeowners increases. Not only the church but also such agencies as the community chest find them unresponsive.

The countless touch-and-go contacts develop a callousness in the life of the typical suburbanite which can be pierced only with difficulty by any institution such as the church. Yet the church must penetrate this defense armor if it is to gain his loyal participation and his financial support. The daily movement to the city and back, the strain of living, and the crowded hours, cause people to long for an opportunity to relax over the week end, and the highways to the open country and the golf courses are crowded on Sunday morning. Many are out of the city for the entire summer, with the result that in the " better " parts of the suburb the church school has a nine-month term, for not enough children remain to justify a summer vacation school. The influence of mobility and fluidity, then, is one of the most significant conditioning factors in suburban church life.

The wealth of the suburb is reflected in the beauty of its sanctuaries, particularly of its " first " churches. These institutions, established when the suburb was young, have been influential in the community as well as in its religious life during the whole period of its history. The congregations desire structures which will do credit to their churches, symbolize their religious faith, and at the same time be commensurate with their own economic stand-

ards. Beside the sanctuary rises the educational unit, built to meet the social, recreational, and educational needs of the children and young people.

This appreciation of the beautiful and artistic is found also in the order of service, to which the minister gives much thought and attention. In the central churches there is either a paid quartet or, if possible, a carefully trained paid choir, to insure that the musical portions of the service will be of high quality in technique as well as in spirit and appeal even to the somewhat critical audience. The sermon must be in keeping; the minister too is judged on the basis of his technique as well as on that of his attitude. Pastoral work is important, but good preaching is the *sine qua non* in a " first " church. Indeed, where there is a membership of a thousand or, as is frequently the case, two to four thousand, the Sunday morning worship service is the one opportunity to touch the majority of members, and minister and church alike are judged by its beauty and effectiveness.

Many of these churches have " streamlined " their program, dropping some of the conventional features, such as the midweek prayer meeting and the Sunday evening preaching service. Suburbanites, at least the vast majority of them, do not want more than one religious service a week. In most residential suburbs only the smaller churches and those with lower social standing have Sunday evening services.

The social status of the central churches is clearly recognized not only by the members but by ministers in lesser churches and also by the townsfolk. However, this position in the community is attained at a price. Stately buildings and the services of an eminent minister and a paid staff are costly. Consequently, in spite of their larger membership and greater wealth these religious societies also have their financial problems. Further, the money must be raised in the nine months of the year when the people are " in residence." Even the pastor is frequently given a two or three month vacation during the summer.

Ministers of the suburb assert that their program is intended to

serve the whole community. It might be more accurately described, however, as designed primarily to meet the needs of the membership, of all ages, while others are welcome to attend. The term " community-minded " has a different connotation for them than for religious leaders in the industrial suburb. For example, here there are few clubs or classes for nonmembers and few evidences of conscious efforts to bring in the unchurched. The result is that while these churches are tacitly accepted by all as an important part of the community life they make relatively little if any impression on the unchurched half of the citizenry.

This unconscious aloofness of the church is patent in the attitudes of some leading churches toward the domestic servants of the parishioners. In one suburb, after a thorough religious survey, the minister of a large church reported that while he had secured a number of very good " leads," he had also been handed the " preference cards " of about thirty maids. " And what can I do with them? " he asked rhetorically. He was right; there was no niche in the local organization into which they could readily fit. They could not attend on Sunday mornings for they were at home preparing dinner. There was no evening service, and they were not particularly welcome at the young people's meetings. To care for them it would be necessary to create a special club. Some churches have formed " Thursday afternoon clubs " for maids, but this is resented by many of the intended beneficiaries, who feel that it makes conspicuous their servant status and therefore refuse to attend.

The church school in the residential suburb tends to be small. This is due in part to the relatively low birth rate and in part to the difficulty of maintaining adult classes. Most of the work with young people above high school age is carried on through Sunday evening fellowships. In few other places have the religious education programs been more carefully developed, many of the larger institutions employing a full-time director.

The general intellectual and enlightened point of view — which however may be associated with economic conservatism — held

by those who have had the advantages of education, travel, and social contacts, diminishes sectarianism and supports a liberal preaching ministry. There are few signs of ultra-fundamentalist activity in any of the eight residential suburbs studied. Suburbanites, cosmopolitan in their interests, tend to be indifferent to the preaching of dogma and sectarian specialties. They are less likely to become excited over theological than over economic or political issues. In the latter fields they recognize certain vested interests toward which they seem unable to take the detached and sophisticated attitude that they show toward their church and community.

What has been said applies particularly to the leading cathedral-like churches, which at times serve as the voice of the community on moral and religious matters. It should not be assumed that these strong, efficient churches of the intelligentsia are the sole representatives of organized religion in the residential suburb. They are, however, the conspicuous ones, which symbolize suburban religious life. The " second " and " third " churches make no effort to reach the whole town but are content to serve the families within one of the suburb's local communities. They may have a membership of two to five hundred or even a thousand. A pastor of one such congregation remarked that " for many earnest persons the sense of friendship is stronger and the opportunity for service better " in a small than in a large church. These institutions are essential if the masses of people, particularly the children, in many portions of the suburb are to be reached. Buildings and also budgets are smaller than for the prominent churches; the program is simpler and more in accord with the typical schedule of religious activities in a commercial city.

" West of the tracks " there are other churches which serve their own distinctive population groups. The Roman Catholic institutions, because of the parish system, efficient organization, and freedom from sectarian competition, are usually large in membership and housed in beautiful and impressive buildings. Lutheran, Evangelical, Free Methodist, and kindred societies, springing either from a northern European or a rural American

background, are also frequently located in lower-rent areas. If Negroes live in the suburb they and their churches will generally be found in the poorest districts. Institutions of the two latter groups may be strong and well organized; the majority are weak and ineffective.

Very few bilingual or institutional churches or missions are located in a residential suburb, for this is not their natural habitat. Those which were formerly bilingual are conducting practically all of their work in English, for they found that use of the foreign language tended to alienate the young people. Occasionally a small racial colony established by immigrants who have come to this country since the turn of the century will be located in one of these suburbs and will have its own religious organization. Such societies are ordinarily minuscule and, from the standpoint of the suburb, insignificant.

Religious Patterns in Selected Residential Suburbs

In the northeastern portion of the United States both cities and suburbs are older and, because of this fact, present a pattern slightly different from that obtaining in other sections of the country. In them the Roman Catholic Church is more prominent than in the suburbs farther west. This is because the northeastern states, with their rapidly expanding industries, caught the first flood of central and southern European immigration in the middle of the nineteenth century. The descendants of many of these, now native-born of native-born parents, have acquired economic and social status similar to that of the "old" families. As a result there is a larger Roman Catholic population (approximately half of all church members in Newton are Catholic) in such suburbs than is to be found in exclusive residential areas farther to the west.

Established by some of the old-stock families from Boston early in the seventeenth century, Newton has always been a "better class" community. It has served as a superior residential suburb of Boston ever since 1833 when the Boston and Worcester rail-

road came through. Now with about seventy thousand population the city, according to its published statement, " has no ambition to add mere numbers." Ninety-three per cent of the building area is restricted to private residences and there are practically no apartment houses in the city. It is and intends to remain an exclusive suburb.

Newton has not forgotten its Puritan background and, as in other Puritan settlements, the early communal life centered about the church. Prestige is still obtained by belonging to one of the leading congregations. " The wealthy social classes on the hill drift naturally to the big church." Almost two-thirds of the adults of Newton belong to one of its forty-five churches.

Newton City is still composed of eleven villages, which are very conscious of their identity, with resultant rivalries within the city and some lack of general civic spirit.

> There isn't really a " community " here. There used to be, and one is growing up again, perhaps. But our members live in three separate communities and it is hard to create a new [and additional] unity here [at the local church].

Perhaps this situation offers an explanation of the small interest in the community and its unchurched population shown by the ministers who replied to the questionnaire. There is even less evidence of community concern than in the other suburbs studied. On the other hand, they opine that both members and nonmembers are socially ambitious for themselves and somewhat complacent as far as the underprivileged are concerned. " Enlargement of their sympathy with needy peoples all the world around " is one of the most common of ministerial objectives, for these religious leaders realize that theirs is a " very privileged city " and like other suburbs somewhat indifferent to the needs of less favored groups.

As one moves farther west he finds a larger proportion of Protestants in residential suburbs, although the same characteristics of high economic standards, social prestige, and complacency still

obtain. Evanston, for example, was from its inception marked as a Protestant town, founded by a group of eminent Chicago Methodists who also established the university and a theological seminary for the denomination. Rapid growth has brought in many other population groups, but the Methodist family of churches still accounts for almost 12 per cent of the adult population, about as many as the Roman Catholic communion. Almost one-half of those having church membership are connected with one of these two denominations. Ministers think of Evanston as a well churched city, but that is chiefly because of the many strong, prominent organizations. Actually one-half of the adult citizens are without any church connection. A disproportionately large number of these live in the apartment house area which adjoins Chicago. Here, as elsewhere, there is little other than verbal and formal effort to reach the unchurched. Ministers meet for an occasional luncheon, to hear a speaker or to plan a union Thanksgiving or Armistice day service, but evidence of active cooperation either within or between denominations is meager.

As in other residential suburbs, " the many competing interests of a well favored community and the natural conservatism of upper middle class people " baffle a minister who seeks to make the church central in the lives of his parishioners and to socialize their thinking. Nevertheless Evanston is a churchgoing town and on Sunday morning — except in summer — there is a veritable procession to the doors of the sanctuaries. The ministers of the leading churches are regarded with deference and their opinions on social issues influence community action.

Little mention is made of the university by ministers. Yet it does exercise a leavening influence in the community, and is to a degree responsible for one of the chief items in the creed of thousands of Evanstonians: " I will be liberal and socially minded." Too often, however, this resolution dissolves upon the discovery that a Negro family has moved into a house two blocks away. When in a meeting of an interracial organization it was suggested that one of the best ways of understanding the viewpoint of an-

other cultural group is to mingle with such people socially, a loyal member of the organization replied that she was interested in studying the Negro, not in associating with him. Much of the " sophisticated liberalism " in the privileged community is of this superficial type.

In Evanston as in other suburbs there are numerous churches which do not appeal to persons of wealth or to the socially ambitious. Among these are the smaller community institutions and those ministering to nationality or racial groups. The large Negro population (one-seventh of the total) accounts for about one-half of the churches in Evanston. Many of these are small and have come into being as the result of schisms. Several were established during the depression period. As one Negro minister remarked:

> If a fellow has had a little preaching experience and cannot get a job elsewhere, he may persuade a discontented faction to withdraw from another institution and start up a church of his own.

In its essentials Pasadena is very similar to Newton and Evanston. A few unique characteristics are occasioned by its geographic position. As in other western cities, an amazing variety of small and eccentric sects flourishes. While most of these have only a scanty following, they constitute a thorn in the sides of the ministers of the larger denominations. Some of the " orthodox " are constantly being lured away by the fantastic advertising, the showmanship and the claims to peculiar religious insight of these sects.

In contrast to Los Angeles, two-thirds of whose adult population is without any religious affiliation, Pasadena, appealing to a more selected and an older group, has only one-third of its adults unchurched. In contrast to Newton, only one in five of those with some denominational connection is Roman Catholic. Practically every Protestant denomination and many a free-lance mission are present to take care of the remainder.

Where climate is a specialty and outdoor life is possible throughout the year, the churches find the long paved highways, the mountains, beaches and parks to be serious competitors during the

Sunday morning hours. Yet in spite of many obstacles organized religion is a vital force in the life of Pasadena; it is assumed to be the right and proper thing that people hold a membership in some congregation. In fact, religion is a strong conventional force in every residential suburb which was studied. Whether this will continue to be the case in the future is not so readily ascertainable for, as ministers in every suburb declare, there is much indifference, particularly on the part of the young people. While each city has its own distinctive personality and some peculiar difficulties, the general objectives and problems confronting organized religion which are found in one are evident in all.

Objectives

Residential suburbs have more than a normal share of able ministers. The outstanding men of each communion gravitate in this direction, where Protestantism has its chief strength, where churches are worshipful and congregations large, where the community is made up of people who give direction to the business and social life of the metropolis and the nation, and where the leaders of tomorrow are being reared. It is not surprising, therefore, that unusual insight is shown in the replies of these men. In the main they appear free from the local community taboos, prejudices and provincialisms. This is evidenced by such a statement of objectives as the following:

> To preach, teach and live the life of Christ; to get Christianity understood, accepted and embodied in public life; to build a working sample of Christian brotherhood; to develop a thoughtful loyalty to the church, a social imagination, curiosity and conscience, a better technique of religious education; to invade and overcome careless paganism in the lives of twentieth century, hurrying people; to relate worship more vitally to the inspiration of the vocations, the community burdens and family life.

A primary aim among the preachers in the larger churches is " to create a Christian social consciousness," to liberalize the social and economic attitudes of their members who, because of their

position in society and their economic status, frequently suffer from ethical blind spots. These men are seeking:

To liberalize a conservative, complacent, well-set-up suburban church.

To develop a Christian conscience on social issues. This is very much needed. To get men of means and influence to humbly accept each other.

To create a consciousness of the need for " social action " and for efforts to bring about world peace.

This emphasis on broadening the social horizons may almost be called typical. Whereas pastors in industrial suburbs are constantly referring to the community and seldom mention world-wide responsibility, the religious leaders of the residential suburbs repeatedly comment on the need for " world vision " and speak less frequently in terms of local community responsibility. It is interesting to speculate to what extent this difference in emphasis is due to the status, education, and social background of the citizens and to the attitudes and training of the ministers.

Another objective of the ministers, and perhaps the one about which they are most concerned, is to deepen the spiritual life of the members. They wish to clarify " their concepts of God and deepen their sense of his nearness and goodness "; a few stress " conversion and the fundamentals," but this emphasis is almost absent when compared with the stated objectives from other types of cities. The preachers desire " to have a church that is definitely spiritual and to have a good social feeling among the members." The keynote is tolerance, sweetness and light, the development of " a truly Christian fellowship among the people of the church." This is in keeping with the more sophisticated attitude of the residential suburb, where evangelism makes small appeal to either ministers or townsfolk.

Problems and Programs

While most members of the profession look on the minister in a residential suburb with a measure of envy, as one who has attained, he himself is often overwhelmed with a sense of inadequacy as he seeks to bring the message of religion into a world of " cultured paganism." The inroads made by the population from the big metropolis accentuate " the problem of preserving the high ideals of a residential community which have obtained for many years." The proximity of the big city and its bright light areas, anonymity, rapid transportation, weakened community controls, and the adulation of success, especially financial success, tend to undermine the traditions formerly emphasized within the residential community.

The people of the exclusive suburb have not only larger material resources but also more abundant opportunities for self-expression, and apparently many of them feel less in need of the church. The latter must take its place among the numerous organizations competing for the time and financial support of the residents. To maintain a distinctive position for the church in the community is no simple task. Religious societies are driven by the same forces and tend to be rated according to the same criteria (the size and type of membership, equipment and resources) as the women's club or the chamber of commerce. It is against this background that the preachers insist on the unique position of the church and point out the " distinction between the church, the teacher of faith, and other cultural, philanthropic or merely cursory discussion groups."

They complain that even the members take the church for granted, sending their children to it for instruction and then giving little financial or moral support. They crave " the cooperation of parents and teachers in the church school." In no other place does it seem quite so difficult to secure volunteer church school teachers. Even the parents feel that there are too many claims on their time and they would rather use their talents in other ways.

Social status is not gained through teaching a class of boys or girls, but is associated with the chairmanship of the program committee of the young women's guild. Many who are able to sing or speak in public blench at the thought of being responsible for the behavior and instruction of twelve children for one hour a week.

Another important problem vexing the suburban ministry is irregularity of attendance. In city after city, ministers deplore " the lukewarmness, the lack of a sense of need of public worship, resulting in absence from services."

Indifference characterizes about two-thirds of the members. They are but nominal members.

The majority of the men in this church work in New York City and in good weather use Sundays for recreation.

The many attractions of southern California take the families to the mountains and beaches on Sunday.

Closely related is the necessity of integrating the people who become members of the church.

Our chief problem seems to be to assimilate new members, to make them feel at home in our fellowship, and to give them something to do that they *can* do in order to maintain their interest.

This difficulty is accentuated when the older members of the church " wish to keep it a family affair." Several pastors find that this tendency to " operate on a closed-shop basis " increases the task of developing and retaining the interest of prospective adherents, since " as soon as this becomes evident to new people, they are lost to us." Assimilating newcomers is a poser for the minister when the church has a membership of two thousand or more; at the same time it is less easy to persuade new members to assume a share of the responsibility for personal leadership and financial support. Some ministers also find a lack of interest on the part of their membership in denominational activities. Their

people will work for the local organization, but have no sense of obligation to the national body.

Another interesting problem relating to membership appears to be peculiar to the residential suburb and the resort city. Men and women will frequently take full advantage of the services of the church over a long period of time, without formally joining the society or assuming any of the responsibilities of membership. This seems to be particularly true in the women's organizations. Evidently many persons regard the church in much the same light as the park system, as a public institution which each is entitled to enjoy without incurring any particular obligation. One pastor remarks: " Our activities are participated in by members and non-members in about equal proportions." Others state that many nonmembers attend but cannot be persuaded, indeed have never intended, to join the church. A survey made in one suburb showed that as many as 40 per cent of the worshipers at the central Protestant churches were nonmembers. In contrast, in the Roman Catholic communion practically all attendants were also members, the maximum proportion of nonmembers who attended in any of the four Catholic churches being 15 per cent.

The churches in apartment house sections of the residential suburbs are confronted with a problem of their own. People from the city move into these multi-family dwellings and bring their desire for anonymity with them. Many are averse to developing any local contacts. They desire " freedom." Apartment house dwellers, particularly those in two- and three-room units, tend to be young people; frequently both husband and wife are employed. In this event few other than sleeping hours are spent in the home. The majority regard a call by a parish visitor as an intrusion. On the other hand, some are very appreciative of such a contact and, once rapport has been established, acknowledge the loneliness from which they have suffered. As yet, however, the church has made only a mediocre success of reaching these " cliff dwellers."

The problem of the relationship between the large and the small church persists in suburbs just as it does in other centers. Many

suburban residents retain their affiliation with a metropolitan church and sometimes attend there irregularly. In other cases they may worship in a local institution but avoid any specific responsibility on the plea that they " belong downtown." Another pattern is the conflict between the strong central churches and the smaller community churches within the suburb. A list of new members in the " first " church often contains the names of persons living in the natural parish of a community church of the same denomination, and perhaps even transferring from it. One minister declares:

> I think there is a tendency for the smaller churches to feel the competition with the larger and more affluent ones, which have programs on a more elaborate scale. The auto, of course, makes the difference of a couple of miles of no consequence. I have people in my church who have no real business there, and people in my community go elsewhere because of some " friend " connection.

This situation inevitably involves a measure of tension, even though it be restrained and polite. No solution can be reached until there is a frank understanding among the ministers, and also an acknowledgment of parish responsibility on the part of members as well as preachers. Obviously, Protestants will not be assigned to attend a local church, nor should they be denied admission to the " first " church. The minister in the larger organization can, however, afford to suggest to newcomers who mention the possibility of joining his congregation that there might be value in their aligning themselves with the smaller church located near their homes. In similar vein, he can discourage rather than encourage the migration of leaders from the smaller societies.

" The wholesale shunning of the church by college graduates " and the fact that " not many younger members are coming along " bother many a minister in the residential suburb. " How best to reach the thousands of students and to minister to hundreds of young married people who have moved into nearby apartments and are not yet assimilated into the community life " is a problem that is calling forth the best efforts of those who have an insight

into the seriousness of this situation. It is obvious to them that if the number of young people entering the church continues at the present low point for two decades, organized religion will suffer a serious membership shortage from which it will not soon recover. This problem is not restricted to the residential suburb and deserves the best attention and the united effort of the whole church.

While the program of the suburban church is well developed, it presents few elements which have not already been considered. Most distinctive is the manner in which it is conducted and the richness of personal and material resources. For the children there is the usual program of scouting, athletic activities and social events, in addition to "scientifically correct" facilities for religious education. In only a few instances is there a vacation church school program. For adults there are clubs for women and men, mothers' circles, study groups, church night programs, vesper musicales, dramatics, forums, dinners, and other entertainments. Some churches carry as an important part of their work the support of a mission, institutional church, or social settlement in the metropolis, furnishing part of the personal leadership for the undertaking as well as the financial underwriting. It is only the exceptional organization, unfortunately, which makes any evident, concrete effort to reach the unchurched in its own community or to relate the more prosperous people of the suburbs to a project serving an underprivileged area.

Interdenominational Relations

Few are the evidences of active and effective cooperation among the churches (reported by only three out of fifty-seven ministers), and in these instances no specific accomplishments are cited. A common report is, "We have no competition between the churches," no reference being made to cooperative activities. On the other hand, there is little bitterness or enmity. As a minister in a church of four hundred reports:

> Competition is sharp but healthy and brotherly. If we can't make the grade it is our own fault.

Frequent, however, are the reports of overchurching. Numerous unpleasant situations exist because of the lack of foresight and planning at an earlier date, even though no one now on the field is to blame.

It is just the problem, as I see it in my community, of too many ineffective churches rather than a few strong ones.

While there is no *open* conflict, yet it exists. We have a Methodist and an Episcopalian church [in addition to the writer's] in our section which can really support but one church. The question is which one!

Yes, with churches about every half mile in every direction, and with all kinds of " come-outer-missions " in between, there is competition.

Occasionally there is a definite " unfriendly act." A church that failed to retain its hold in one area, because of the influx of a new population group, relocates in another and more congenial section of the city, even though other churches have been caring adequately for the local religious needs for many years.

Three years ago the X church moved to this hill section of M. Formerly they were in a business section bordering on an Italian neighborhood. It was a good move for them, but now there are two Protestant churches one block from each other. Both can exist for the next fifteen or twenty years, but two out of every three families are either Jewish or Catholic. We now compete for each new Protestant family.

Illustrations could be multiplied. This unseemly competition is as extravagant, as superficially polite but subtly bitter, as an armament race between two nations.

Probably much of the difficulty arises from the fact that ministers and churches do not realize the full effect of their present policies. For example, one large institution which supports an interdenominational mission, gives money to an Italian church of another communion, and makes contributions to the budgets of

three Negro churches, also has as its pride a great " Men's Community Bible Class " which draws supporters from many of the other churches, thus creating a problem for their ministers.

There appear to be two basic difficulties in interdenominational relationships in the suburbs. One is lack of awareness ; the other is individualism, which may also go by the name of indifference.

Yes, some competition, although polite and gracious. Too much money spent on plants which duplicate overmuch.

There is no mass front on any community problem on the part of Protestant churches; denominational competition is keen; the city is overchurched; there is little fellowship between churches of one denomination. Yet many of the ministers are quite progressive.

This last observation, that ministers who count themselves both liberal in their social viewpoint and progressive in their organization are at the same time basically individualists in their planning, should give pause to those who expect any rapid increase in the influence of the Protestant church in the suburb. As it now is, churches frequently work at cross-purposes to one another, maintaining costly edifices and programs which are not in line with community needs or which duplicate one another. The effect is to make organized religion more expensive than it needs to be and this frightens away some prospective members. With discernment, one minister offers this far-reaching proposition and question:

There is a problem relating to our whole order. Present Protestantism is individualistic, with loosely organized authority. Can its freedoms be retained in our growing collective society, and the institution survive?

14

The Church in the Resort City

WHETHER it be summer or winter, the playtowns of America are always in the news; the resort city lives by publicity which, filled with glowing promises and pictures of bathing beauties, offers wearied workers release from the humdrum and tension of daily living. When the tourist arrives, be it at Miami or Atlantic City, he feels freed from many of the conventional restraints and is prepared to enter wholeheartedly into the holiday spirit. He responds enthusiastically to the festive appearance of the streets and shops furbished by the townsfolk, whose tedious business it is to make every day appear to be a gala occasion.

The average visitor does not realize that underneath the surface of this carnival atmosphere the citizens of the community have many a problem and worry, are laboring assiduously, figuring costs, operating on narrow margins, watching the weather reports to see if the season will be long or short, catering to tastes which they may detest, and perhaps going home at night with an aching head or a discouraged spirit. For them the play business is a serious affair; it is their bread and butter. The strain of earning a living is even greater than in other cities, for the harvesttime is short and the public fickle. To understand the resort city one must recognize that it contains two populations, with two different outlooks on life and with widely different attitudes toward each other. He must also see that what is fun for one may be hard work for the other. Only the townsfolk understand how much of unhappiness there may be in the play business.

Tourists come and go. A week, a month, or a season, and they have returned home. They have brought nothing but their money and their desire for entertainment and, when they go, leave only an empty room and a few dollars. Transiency! Twelve million visitors in and out of Atlantic City within one year! People who go to San Diego tend to stay longer than those visiting Atlantic City; yet even there the postmaster estimates that a fourth of the population moves every ninety days.

Since the resort city must ever be on the alert to cater to the whims of its visitors, the universal tendency is to relax social and moral restraint. In every city studied there was a constant complaint concerning the laxity of community morals. However, the concessionaire replies, "We are just giving the public what it wants. If we suppress gambling and vice, tourists will go elsewhere and our community will starve." Control of the civic life tends to slip into the hands of those who are "broadminded and tolerant, and who bring more visitors to town." It is difficult, because of community lethargy and the pressure of the tourist business, "to try to persuade men of character and ability to serve at public tasks, all of which are now handled by mercenary morons."

Effects of Resort Life on Organized Religion

It is not surprising that in such a setting the church is confronted by almost insuperable obstacles in its effort to develop a Christian community. The institutions of religion, always influenced by the way in which people earn their living, are more affected by the economic life of the resort city than by that of any other urban center. The impact of the economic order in a one-industry town tends to be greater than in a city with diversified pursuits. But where that one industry is catering to strangers and transients, it influences the family and social life far more intimately than does the manufacturing of automobiles in Dearborn or railroading in Altoona. In the resort city all members of the family are in the midst of this industry most of the time. It tends to color every

detail of life. The report of a minister in Atlantic City makes this clear:

> This is a city devoted to entertaining millions of pleasure seekers and vacationists. Sunday is our busiest commercial day, and the children leave church school for Sunday employment. Everything is open on Sunday. Saloons are everywhere. The numbers game (a gambling racket where the stake may be as low as one cent, and children are encouraged to participate) is being played.

To train children in the commonly accepted virtues and ethics of the Christian faith is far from easy where " the gambling and pleasure seeking spirit " is omnipresent, is cultivated by civic leaders and perhaps even by the children's own parents. A pastor in Miami writes:

> This is a commercial amusement center with visitors on a Roman holiday. A gambling center, with horse races, dog tracks and winter sports.

Others make a similar report:

> Gambling is present in all its forms. The wealthy set false standards of " a good time," and the rest try to follow. A large number come down here for a " moral vacation."

Where " the tourist trade is placed above morals," where cheap commercialized amusements flourish, and where there is much flagrant consumption of alcoholic beverages, the church has a battle on its hands if it wishes to maintain its own integrity. If it challenges these accepted municipal standards it cannot expect to be popular with most of the citizenry. In such a situation the church is struggling against the basic economic structure of the community. More or less acute conflict between the ministers over theological and social issues has not strengthened the moral authority of organized religion.

The constantly shifting visiting population is matched by continuous changes of residence on the part of the " natives." San

Diego is described as " one of the most mobile communities in the U. S. A. with a restless and transient character." In like manner the floating population of Miami presents a problem for the church. One of its ministers writes:

> Not over ten per cent of my active members have been in the church for ten years. And when they get on their feet financially they will move to another section. A large number are uncertain as to the length of time they will be here.

With population in flux, the minister and his volunteer lay associates must work very hard in order to keep the church from losing ground. They understand what the Red Queen meant when she told Alice: " Now, *here,* you see, it takes all the running *you* can do, to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that! "

In the rush season the local people cannot attend church regularly, for all the stores, restaurants, and amusement places are open seven days a week. This " leaves little opportunity for activities in and for the church." In such a resort as Atlantic City it may be easier to have a strong Sunday school program than a large church service, because the local people can attend a class early in the morning and then be free to start the day's work by the time the vacationists are beginning to stroll along the boardwalk. One church of five hundred members has over eight hundred attending its church school, which is staffed by seventy persons. It is more difficult to obtain a morning congregation.

If therefore the church in the resort city is to have an active program in the tourist season it will need to serve the transients, provided it can snatch a bit of their time. A logical consequent is that practically every one of the thirty ministers who reported on the resort cities stated his program was for the community, and mentioned the everlasting effort to serve the visitors, " the large floating population who are church orphans." Many of these vacationists, particularly in Miami and San Diego, are loyal church members back home and are in the habit of attending

regularly. During the eight-month season in Miami there are more strangers than members in attendance at the central churches, some of which have as many as three duplicate services on Sunday morning and two in the evening in order to accommodate all of the worshipers. Not a few of the ministers have discovered that this is the best time of the year to raise the local budget and stage the every-member canvass. However, these brief contacts and " the constant shifting of population make it difficult to do [an effective] educational work with the people."

After the outlanders depart their hosts relax and use the rockers on the front porch for themselves. It is in this leisure season that the natives are able to patronize their own institutions and a number of the churches do their most effective, abiding work, in spite of the fact that attendance is much smaller. To be sure, many who have been unable to attend because of the pressure of work feel entitled to a vacation in the slack season, and consequently are absent from church the year round.

The salubrious climate which is so widely advertised as one of the chief attractions at the resort is not an unmixed blessing for the local church:

> This is a beach community, with the usual beach attitude of " rest."

> San Diego is an extremely popular recreational city. The benign climate attracts many elderly and physically incapacitated people and acts as a sedative on younger people.

Whether it is a matter of climate or the judicious choice of rewarding fields, the fact is that such cities as Miami and San Diego have more than the usual number of free-lance sects and esoteric cults. A minister in Miami complains that " mushroom sects and revivalists who winter (only) with us and much ballyhoo by spells are detrimental." These unlicensed sky-pilots and hierophants, who claim special revelations and unique insight into the universe, have discovered that the visiting throngs with leisure on their hands are a field ripe for the harvest. Untangling sacred mysteries provides an interesting occupation, a certain status, and

also a fair income. It is as evident that some are charlatans as that others are sincere and devout; but whether they be the one or the other, each attracts his following from the idle crowd and causes a measure of perplexity to the leaders of the regular denominations. "Miami has much second-coming-of-Christ religion. Worldliness dominates their living and otherworldliness their thinking!"

Objectives of the Churches

Every minister who is awake to the life of his city, with its hopes and fears, its nobility and vice, will take these factors into consideration as he formulates the scope and pattern of his program. Indeed a statement of objectives is a more or less frank recognition of goals as yet unattained. Some ecclesiastics present a statement of objectives, phrased in conventional and shopworn terms, which on the surface may mean much or nothing and which has no apparent relationship to the social milieu. On the other hand, many a religious leader, keenly aware of the peculiar problems of his people, adapts his goals and therefore his program to their needs. This sense of responsibility is evident in the following statement from Atlantic City:

> My objectives are to awaken new loyalty among older members; to construct a youth program making the church the center of interest and activity; and to build a unity of faith among all groups worshiping here.

This man is obviously aware of the many distracting and often antisocial and immoral pulls exerted by the community, knows the effect of disillusionment on the older people and the danger that youth will grow up with a cynical secular attitude toward the whole of life. He has the wit to see that unity of faith can and must be forged out of diversity of backgrounds.

A pastor in San Diego has discovered the importance of individualizing his members and of satisfying the desire for fellowship in a world of mobility:

I find many lonely people. We attempt to contact these and establish friendships for them through visitation and social groups.

Men and women, particularly in our urban society and even more especially in the anonymity of the resort town, are eager to be thought of as *persons* and not simply as units in a crowd. The problem of transiency increases the burden on the leader but makes this individualizing of members and constituents even more necessary because of people's loneliness. Pastoral work, always difficult, becomes more important when it is harder to perform.

The resort city is exacting in its demands on the minister and at the same time brings relatively few rewards (not monetary but personal) for service. The transiency of the people, the organized civic support of activities which the church opposes, the callousness which results from the wholesale undermining of generally accepted social and moral standards, and the few apparent results from years of labor are sometimes disheartening even to the most optimistic. One speaks for others when he writes:

> My objective can be little else than to maintain a place of worship in a downtown location in a resort hotel city, and through the Sunday school and similar organizations seek to build Christian character.

In every type of city, including the resort, some among the clergy evidently are uncertain as to the functions of the church and have difficulty in stating them even in conventional terminology. Speaking of this group, which fortunately appears to be small, a preacher from Miami states:

> Some ministers do not seem to know where they are going. They have no goal. They are earnest, sincere, fine men, but at a loss as to what results they must work for.

This sententious remark indicates a condition which is serious enough in a residential suburb but which is almost fatal in a resort city. There, if a minister lacks certitude, few people will arise to give him either direction or courage.

Problems and Programs

There are a few millstones always around the necks of religious leaders in resort cities: transiency, the " season," and community immorality. Some of the most vexing perplexities, however, have to do with the local membership.

1. During the period when the vacationists are present local members are irregular in church attendance and the customary, homelike church atmosphere is hard to preserve. The minister lacks the support of familiar workers and congregation.

> It is difficult to maintain an adequate spiritual ministry to members who are overworked and nonattendant during " the season," when tourists are in the majority in attendance and in activity.

The rank and file of the members " do not know the meaning of true participation within the organization," at the very time that the church desperately needs dependable leaders who will assist the minister in serving the flood of strangers which inundates them. Time, leadership ability, and also consecration are necessary for the most effective work in any local church, and these are the very qualities which seem to be scarce in a resort city. One minister laments " the lack of qualified leaders with an amount of optimism which will help them successfully to launch and carry through a program."

With the distractions, furore and fatigue to which they are subjected, the townspeople have little energy left for the church. " Putting flesh on dry bones, inspiring a consistent loyalty," is one minister's way of formulating this problem. In the off-season it is necessary to " revive morale by adequate spiritual ministry and pastoral work," restoring assurance and a feeling of security and stability which in this world of rapid change the people desperately need.

2. Of almost equal moment, particularly to the churches near the heart of the city in the hotel and rooming house districts, is the ministry to the transient. Ministers realize that " the congre-

gation invariably contains all creeds," and " to offer an acceptable and worthy program for many visitors " is an exacting as well as a challenging responsibility. People, even though they be on vacation, do come to the church with spiritual hungers which must be satisfied. Particularly in such a city as San Diego are there many religiously minded visitors, among them thousands accustomed to an evangelistic program, who are as ready to attend a service on Tuesday as on Sunday. All days are alike on vacation, and the transients frequently want something to do. A San Diego pastor, recognizing this situation, asserts:

> My contention and conviction is that a downtown church should have a meeting every night for the preaching of the gospel.

Obviously it would not be feasible for all central churches to have such a schedule of meetings, though one may do so to advantage. However, not all who attend the church come for the worship services. One pastor reports that he is " unable to secure much participation of nonmembers except for programs of entertainment." For them the church is another friendly concession, with no admission fee.

It is no simple task for the church to satisfy the needs and desires of transients and at the same time carry forward the regular activities, the religious education of the children, the more intimate social fellowship of the local members. Consequently it will require unusual tact, forbearance, and ingenuity on the part of minister and laymen if the many and varied demands on the church are to be met.

3. Struggling to accommodate both members and transients, the church of the resort city seems to have little success in reaching the thousands of unchurched who live there the year round. This is in part occasioned by preoccupation with the current program and the general temper of the community. It is also partly due to the restlessness of the natives, many of whom change residence every year or every six months. Frequently the children, if not the parents, can be reached.

We have a downtown church with an excellent church school made up largely of children from non-Christian homes —

writes one minister. Even newcomers who plan to make the resort their permanent home are slow to join the church of their denomination. A Protestant Episcopal rector in Miami is convinced that there are eight thousand Episcopalians in the city, yet the three churches of that denomination report a combined membership of less than three thousand. Many of those who are unaccounted for have doubtless left their membership in some northern congregation. In any event, they have not sought a local church home. The story could be repeated elsewhere. In San Diego two-thirds of the adult population are without any religious affiliation.

4. A problem which perplexes many a minister is how to secure the participation of young people. It seems particularly true of the central churches that there is " a preponderance of the aged in the membership and a lack of young married families." The elders are much in evidence, partly because there are more of them in resort cities and partly because they find greater enjoyment in the conventional type of church program, which is designed chiefly for persons who wish passively to listen or sit and observe. The maintenance of Townsend clubs by several San Diego churches is mute evidence of this catering to the whims of the elderly. To such a program young people, interested in action, do not respond.

5. The difficulty of securing effective members in the resort aggravates the problem of the relationship between the downtown and the community church. In all types of city the central churches draw many of their dependable members and leaders from the smaller institutions. In the resort, because of high population mobility, the practice is even more common. Its " necessity " is indicated in the statement of the pastor of a " first " church:

There is no particular competition, except such as exists where the downtown churches must draw people who live closer to some other church, in many instances.

The reaction of the pastor who serves one of the small churches, though in another city, is equally lucid:

> The downtown churches are heartless relative to smaller neighborhood churches. They have more money, hire musical attractions, etc. They are able to hire special workers to call upon people within the shadow of my own church.

6. A problem of an entirely different type also confronts the church. The turbid moral atmosphere of the community does not facilitate the development of Christian conduct. Saloons, gambling, vice, shady business ethics, the sale of shoddy merchandise, the utter disregard of conventional Sunday observance, create a fog in which it is difficult to see clearly and in which the churches themselves may become confused.

> I think that many of our churches have hurt our general cause by their types of program, i. e., card parties, dances, carnivals with roulette wheels, games of chance. Reputable businessmen lose their respect for such churches and we are all affected by it.

7. San Diego, with its naval and military bases, has a problem all its own. With a reported twenty-two thousand men posted there,

> the city tends to be dominated by navy morality and navy philosophy of life, partly because it derives its chief income from the navy.

A number of ministers recognize that the presence of thousands of more or less foot-loose and carefree men who " have little sense of community or church responsibility " tends to interfere with the stability and normality of civilian life.

" Creating the belief that the city is not dependent on more navy appropriations in order to survive " is no small problem for a peace-minded minister in San Diego. Several men reported that " the ministers take little interest in peace work, due to the large navy population." Here again religion seems to be tied up, for better or for worse, with the way in which people earn their living. It may be added that the ministers of the smaller churches appear more aware of these issues than those in the larger institutions.

In addition to these more or less unique problems which confront organized religious life in the resort city there are also the usual administrative and financial puzzles which baffle the minister and his associates in the commercial city — how to meet the budget and pay off the debt, how to enlist the support and attendance of parents who send their children to the church school, how to overcome the indifference of church members and secure a more eager participation of young people in the services, how to provide effective preaching and religious education, and how to keep the machinery running. These, together with the effort to serve the transient and combat the lethargy and nonmoral attitude of the community, appear so to pre-empt the time and energy of the pastor that little emphasis can be given to the creating of a Christian world view, a stress which was particularly noticeable in residential suburbs. There is a minority who have at heart this wider task but, as one of them has stated, " the ministerial association is fine so long as live economic and world issues are avoided."

The program of the church in the resort follows the general pattern for the institutions in the commercial city. There are, however, fewer elements designed for children (few Scout troops) and more elements for the adults, such as free lectures, musicales and clubs. Occasional churches sponsor features deserving of mention. One has established a " Life Guidance Center," with separate offices in a downtown building and with a professionally trained woman in charge. She has been able to assist many individuals in untangling some of their life problems. The same church also conducts a home for mothers of illegitimate babies. Here the women are cared for and aided in making a readjustment; a careful child-placing and adoption service is operated in connection. As the pastor notes, " this work is growing and is very important." (A sign of the life of a disorganized and restless community!) Several churches are open throughout the day and serve as community centers where transients and others may drop in for a period of time. One small institution is making a deliberate effort to secure the participation of Mexicans and Chinese in its

services, but generally there seems to be an attitude of indifference toward the Negro and foreign nationality groups.

In a number of instances a determined effort has been made to develop a program for youth. For example, one church has a recreational and social program each Tuesday evening for boys and girls from seven to sixteen years of age. On Wednesday evenings older young people are welcomed to a planned program at the parish house. There is also a junior choir, with a paid director who can hold the interest of children. A number of nonmembers attend these various functions. Another minister has specialized in woodcraft and nature study clubs for the boys and girls of the neighborhood. He has also been active in securing an appropriation for the development of a small park near by, where it is much needed. There is great variety in the programs of these churches, but the institutional and community features are the exception rather than the rule.

Interdenominational Relations

While one minister announces, " I feel that our interchurch cooperation and comradeship are of a high order," and several point out that there is no overt competition between the leading denominations, the replies of most ministers in resort cities give the impression that noncooperation exists generally. Many are annoyed by the little " iconoclastic " sects which are continually sniping off members from the larger and more staid organizations. Indeed, there appears to be much crossing of denominational lines even among the established churches. The rector of an Episcopal church reports that in his last confirmation class of forty-five persons there were " Roman Catholics, Methodists, Baptists, and Scientists," and adds that this was an average class. While this indiscriminate corralling may irritate leaders in other communions, it should be evident that had they kept alive the active interest of these errant ones, the latter would never have left the home fold.

This raises the question of the ethics of interchurch competition

and also of "proselyting." It is worthy of note that ministers who are winning converts from various denominations think of this as "salvage work" made necessary by the inefficiency, poor program, or lack of spiritual zeal of other institutions; to them it is not competition. Those who lose members by this method, on the other hand, regard it in an entirely different light and use the opprobrious epithet "proselyting." This is a problem in ethics to which members of the ministerial profession might well give serious thought. One pastor approaches the question from a somewhat different angle:

> I have always enjoyed the good will of my "church neighbors" but nevertheless I feel that competition . . . exists. This is not, I am sure, because professional ethics is lacking, but because under the circumstances competition is inevitable and unescapable. This has concerned me much of late, since many pulpits, perhaps very correctly, condemn competition for private gain in economic life.

Overchurching, which is one variety of competition, may be illustrated by the work among the Mexicans in San Diego. In 1930 there were, according to federal statistics, 9,266 Mexicans in San Diego, the large majority of whom are cared for by the Roman Catholic Church. Yet twenty-nine Protestant missions of one sort or another are reported to be working among these people. The pastor of one writes informingly:

> There is a very small Nazarene Mexican church and a very small Mexican Free Methodist church, a Mexican Catholic church, two Pentecostal missions, a Seventh Day Adventist clinic with some Mexican work, a Mexican Baptist church, also a Mormon mission (all within a half-mile radius, others are near by). Our church is the largest in membership (77).

The responses of certain ministers on the question of interchurch relationships give an impression of the disunity of organized religion which is appalling:

> A decided lack of harmony among the Protestant churches locally, a minority group (three denominations included) maintaining their

own association because of their super-fundamental theological attitude and holding no fellowship with the majority. Not so good!

However, the conservatives are not the only ones who are aggressive and pugilistic in their attitude. Half humorously a liberal pastor boasts:

> I am engaged in a knock-down drag-out fight with a scion of John Knox across the way. He is leading on points to date, but my knock-out punch is still in reserve. I am awaiting the bell for the next round.

A study of the resort city would cause one to assume that here if anywhere, under the pressure of many character-destroying influences in the community, the forces of Christianity would be compelled to drop their internecine strife and conciliate one another in order that all energies might be devoted to the development of a Christian community. Yet here, as in every type of city studied, the forces which divide are much more in evidence than those which unite, and indifference or even antagonism seems more common than harmony and active cooperation. A sociologist would suggest that much of this ill will is due to steady insistence, chiefly by ministers, on theological minutiae which inevitably divide persons in direct ratio to the emphasis placed upon them. The " liberal " minister, confident that logic and the power of intellect are on his side, may be as much at fault in this regard as the revivalist mission preacher who unequivocally affirms the direct and divine inspiration of every word of Scripture. A recognition of the church's responsibility to the community and its obligation to assist in the solution of personal and community problems, and a development of a cooperative program to this end, might well serve to eradicate much of the tension and ill will.

15

Toward a More Effective Local Church

THE CHURCH which has sent its roots down deep into the local soil is the one to which the men, women and children of the community respond. It has done more than conduct the conventional services of worship, and is not so otherworldly that it fails to live in the present. The minister and his associates know the many real and baffling problems which daily confront men and women: the effect of poverty and squalor on the health and life of children, the concern of the parents of high school young people over some of the wild parties that have been reported, the worry and fears of the wife and mother whose husband was blinded in a factory accident, the longing of bereaved parents for the stabilizing assurance that God is good and that life will triumph over death.

It is the responsibility of the minister to know his people as well as he knows his theology, to comprehend the social problems of the community with as much insight as he does the heavenly city described in Revelation. If the experiences recorded in the Bible are to be more than an idle tale, the minister must see that which is common to them and to the struggles, the disorganization, the hopes and fears expressed in the people about him.

The church, then, has more than the one task of getting people saved and into heaven. Its functions are varied. Through worship services it does or should minister to the spiritual needs of the participants; through the sacraments it affords comfort and solace, particularly to those with a mystical turn of mind; through religious education it brings to the children the rich heritage and high

faith of the church, leads them to an acceptance of spiritual goals and standards and later to participation in the adult program; through various groups and organizations it aids in the development of character, gives opportunity for leadership, the acquisition of status, fellowship and sociability. These are undisputed areas of church activity and constitute the program of the average organization.

Many of the most effective churches, however, perform additional functions. They recognize a responsibility to establish valid goals for community as well as personal action, work for the elimination of disorganizing and debasing influences within the city, and encourage their members to accept responsibility in local philanthropic and social service organizations. Where the physical or social welfare of individuals is in jeopardy and there are no civic institutions to meet the need, the church accepts a mandate to give assistance. Therefore it may operate clinics, raise a milk fund, distribute clothing, offer legal aid, provide a life adjustment center or the services of a personal counselor. To this end also it organizes mothers' study classes, supports a program of club activities for children, young people, and adults, and conducts a clean, lively and noncommercial recreational program for youth. Such a church is not content with a purely local emphasis, but wishes to extend the horizons of its people, both spatially, to include the larger community of the nation and the world, and structurally, to show the relationship between the closed local factory, farm foreclosures and international trade. It helps them to see that all persons are related by a social and economic nexus, if not by blood, and that the good life which the church advocates cannot be divorced from these problems of society. To carry forward this phase of its program it may organize a forum, perhaps in connection with a church night series, where under skilled and informed leadership people may ask questions, express their own points of view, and register intellectual and social growth.

No other organization within our society is so well equipped to interpret the problems, needs and viewpoints of various groups,

each to the other, as the Christian church. It ministers to rural and urban, to rich and poor, to black and white, to immigrant and native-born. No other institution has so wide a scope except state or school; but in the state the politician tends to play off one section against another, and in the school teachers may lack social awareness or be so busy with a multitude of activities that such services of interpretation are rendered for only a few. If the responsibility is accepted, if the church is willing to forego its sectarianism, and if its leadership is sufficiently skilled, it may well serve as the great integrating, uniting force of the nation. In many a city the church has eased race tensions or aided in the solution of economic conflicts, or has built up such an understanding between two or more groups that threatened crises were forestalled and an amicable solution achieved.

These are the plus elements in the program of the church and, other things being equal, the institution which has such an expanded program is the one which brings the widest and richest ministry to its own local community.

Discovering the Community

If the church wishes to be an integral part of the community life and not simply a superimposed, otherworldly institution, it will strive to serve the people who are round about it, not merely as run-of-the-mill humans but as distinctive personalities in their own particular social setting. To accomplish this end it must know them and their habitat. Who are they? Whence did they come? Of what race? What are their cultural traditions and heritages, their social and economic status, their age distribution? What are their loyalties, their fears, their ambitions?

The answers to these questions should influence the working out of the church's program. It makes a difference whether the people in an area are of old American stock, somewhat sophisticated in outlook, who have lived for decades in a stable community and owned their homes, or whether they are first and second generation immigrants from Europe, with no clear comprehension

of American standards and traditions, struggling desperately to earn a living, suffering from misunderstanding and from some disharmony between the two generations. A nursery or a clinic is not needed in a residential suburb; a maids' club has small place in a church serving the foreign-born.

In such a city as Dearborn, with a disproportionately large number of men, the usual predominant emphasis on women's activities will be inappropriate if the church aspires to serve a complete cross section of the community; work hours and the three-shift system will also have to be considered in the planning of the program. In Pasadena, with an elderly population, the pastoral functions and calling become particularly important. On the other hand, there are areas in which practically one-third of the population is under fifteen years of age. Here stress should be given to work among children and young people. The minister must understand these factors if he aspires to be an effective pastor, preacher, and leader; to achieve this end he must study his entire community.

The house-to-house canvass may have large value as a method of studying a community provided attention be given to certain prerequisites. The canvass should be planned thoughtfully and in detail. It can best be conducted on an interdenominational basis, thereby avoiding any accusation of proselyting; under these circumstances it is also easier to get the approval of the local chamber of commerce and to obtain newspaper publicity, which will prove a decided asset to the callers. The canvassers should be selected with care. A stupid, impatient or tactless person can do more harm than good. On the other hand, intelligent, interested visitors, who have shared in a one-evening "training course" where the plan, procedure, use of card and system of reporting are carefully explained and assignments clearly made, will benefit by the experience and make a genuine contribution to the religious life of their church, community, and city.

The record card which is employed should be carefully drawn to include not only name, address and religious affiliation, but also

such data as nationality or race, size of family, names and ages of children under twenty-one, special interests and abilities of each member, length of residence in the community and location of previous residence (to aid in studying mobility patterns), occupation of the wage earners, with a notation as to whether the home is owned or rented, space for any additional comments (as that a member of the family is ill, a call should be made, etc.) and a place for the visitor's signature and the date of the call.

Many a canvass proves to be a pathetic waste of time and effort because, after all the work, the cards may simply be piled in the corner to gather dust. Even where names of prospective members and unchurched persons are distributed to the proper organizations, a local minister frequently fails to follow up the leads. Indeed the securing of new names for constituency rolls is only one of the values to be derived from such a study. If the information is carefully compiled and interpreted much light will be thrown on the community, its social organization, and the changes which are in process. If the study has been conducted on an interdenominational basis, it is quite possible that the sociology department of the local college or perhaps the high school will render aid in the compilation of the data on social change and population movement.

Methods other than that of the house-to-house canvass will yield valuable results. One should become acquainted with the history of the community, the men and movements which have characterized it, the changes which have taken place and those now in process. He would do well to walk through the area and adjacent districts, with eyes open and senses alert, observing the physical setting, such as the main avenues of transportation which, with their clusters of stores, draw people from the neighborhoods on either side of the thoroughfare, but which may serve as a hazard to children en route to the church school. A student of the community will also want to know the boundaries, rivers, railroads, industrial districts, parks, or undeveloped tracts which mark off the area of his responsibility from adjoining communities; the relation

of his own parish to the rest of the city, in social and economic as well as geographical position. He will make further inquiry concerning population movements. From what districts have the present inhabitants come, and are some of them moving on toward the periphery of the city? What new peoples are entering? What other racial or cultural groups are nearer the heart of the city and likely to move out into this district? Consideration of the rate and direction of this population flow, as well as the cultural background of the migrants, should enter into the preparation of a program.

The acquiring of such information and its use are very much like the assembling of the parts in a jig-saw puzzle. In a study of the community, however, one cannot secure all of the requisite pieces complete in a box; rather, it is necessary to ferret them out one at a time. The more parts can be secured, the more intelligible the picture becomes and the easier it is to fit in additional pieces. The wise minister will carry on such a study over a period of years (no minister can grow into a community in a one or two year stay) and preserve in some tangible, permanent form the data assembled through interviews, observation, and study of census materials, social welfare reports, public school nationality and transfer studies, denominational yearbooks and local church membership and Sunday school enrollment records. Maps, charts, and graphs, while they do not make the successful pastor, are valuable tools in the hands of a skilled leader. They will not only assist him in understanding his parish and its people, but will aid in presenting the fruits of his research to his own official members, that together with him they may comprehend the trends and prepare a suitable program.

An Adequate Field

It is clear that in order to create an effective local church the minister and his people must understand their community and their own responsibilities to it. This, however, is only one of several factors making for a more effective local church. A second

consideration is the adequacy of the field. It is as difficult for a local institution, poorly situated and in an overchurched community, to develop a large congregation and an effective program as it is for an acorn to grow to maturity when it is planted in a milk bottle; it has inadequate resources and too restricted an area. For a period of time it will grow, but it is doomed to ineffectiveness unless it is transplanted to a less restricted locale.

The mortality rate of churches in most American cities is excessive. This is a direct result of establishing more congregations than are needed to serve the local field. The social as well as the monetary cost of opening and closing institutions is high. Better to have fewer churches and an opportunity for each to survive. Before it can be determined which denomination should be given the mandate to serve a particular territory, a survey is needed to decide which would be most suitable. Not every district offers an adequate field for a Congregational or a Methodist church. In a typical industrial suburb of seventy-five thousand population fewer strong Protestant churches can survive than in a commercial city; there is less soil for their growth.

To be sure, no one church can expect to serve all of the people in a local community with their many differences in background, culture and temperament. A Protestant church cannot satisfy the religious needs of devoted Jews or Catholics. Further, the worship service of a Baptist or Methodist congregation may make small appeal to a person with Protestant Episcopal training and vice versa. And perhaps none of these will be deemed satisfactory by others who enjoy the revivalistic orthodoxy of a Full-Gospel tabernacle. Therefore provision must be made in the community for differing religious views and tastes.* It is obvious that no one

* Herein is one justification for the downtown church, which may be the only representative of its denomination in the city and consequently serves a scattered constituency. In fact, each downtown organization draws from every community; this must be taken into account when planning the placement of a new local church. Even though many Baptists and kindred-minded people are found in the area under study, will enough of them be ready to transfer their allegiance from the central to the local institution to furnish an adequate

church can demand or expect the exclusive right to any large sector of its city, nor can it count on the financial support of the entire churched population. This does not mean that each denomination needs a representative of its own in every section of the city. The more similar in polity and practice such religious groups are, the more careful they must be to effect comity agreements, since, as sociologists point out, competition between the *like* is more acute than between the *unlike*.

In the ideal city there would be no unchurched areas, and every child would be within walking distance of a congenial religious society. On the other hand, overchurching with its attendant evils is deplorable from a Christian point of view, for it is wasteful and thwarts the effective development of those institutions which could be supported. The proper distribution of churches can be achieved only to the extent that denominations will outgrow their individualistic attitude, develop comity agreements, and utilize the methods of social science to fit their institutions to the local field.

A Suitable Location

The correct site is as important for a church as it is for a drugstore. A chain drug company may spend several hundred dollars investigating the advantages and disadvantages of available corner stores, counting the number of people who pass the various locations and observing their trading habits. The ground cost or the rent should be only one factor influencing the decision. All too frequently this has disproportionate weight in determining the location of a church, whose placement may depend on the whim of one person — a real-estate agent with a cheap lot or a friend with a site for sale. Community churches particularly are often poorly situated — at the edge of a tract, within a block or two of the railroad lines, on a dead-end street or a high-speed boulevard which

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support for a new society? Certainly some will not leave the strong, pretentious downtown church for membership in a newly established and small congregation.

the children cannot safely cross and which offers no parking space. To save five hundred or a thousand dollars on the price of a lot, the sponsors of the new institution may unwittingly impose a handicap which it will never outgrow. The cost of the building will be the same in either location, but what a difference in the prospect for future development! The effective church will be located near the center of its natural community.

In planning for a new church or the replacement of an old one economy demands an adequate survey of the field, to determine (1) which denomination can serve most efficiently, and (2) the best available site, taking into account accessibility for adults and children, price of land, freedom from the uproar of traffic (a church should not be opposite the fire-station or on a clattering streetcar line), population density, and the direction of population movement. A church which aspires to serve two adjoining tracts should select a site in the one with preferred status. Neighborhoods, like people, differ from one another in social position, and men and women prefer to go from a poorer to a better area for church services rather than vice versa.

The placing of the central church in Mediopolis involves certain distinctive considerations. The distribution of its membership, like its appeal, is city-wide. In the case of such a church, the location is determined not by community barriers or the ease with which children can walk to it, but by land values and transportation facilities. Its very position prevents it from rendering some of the services performed by an institution located in the midst of a compact parish. This becomes increasingly true as the city grows from one hundred thousand to five hundred thousand population. Nevertheless, the presence of a church downtown, outside of residential communities, is justified for a number of reasons. With the prestige of years, it has a place in the traditions and loyalties of the whole city which cannot be taken over by the "third" church in the "Fairview district." It is a symbol of the importance of religion in the midst of weekday commerce, and its pastor is consulted by civic leaders. This church serves

the transients, it is the one the visitors wish to attend, and to it, in Mediopolis and smaller cities, go many of the new settlers.

An Efficient Plant and Equipment

The effective church will have a sanctuary which by its beauty, its symbolism and its restfulness will be conducive to worship. Assembly halls and a chapel for the church school, as well as adequate classrooms, are important instrumentalities for the discharge of the educational work. All churches have these needs, and many are supplied handsomely. The social and recreational program however will vary with the community. In a residential suburb, where excellent athletic facilities are available in grammar, junior high and high schools, there is small point in a church's expending fifty thousand dollars to erect and equip a gymnasium of its own. It is far less expensive to rent the gym in one of the schools for an evening a week than to pay interest on such an investment. A social hall, which may be used for recreational purposes, with a stage at one end and the kitchen to one side, will be much more in demand for entertainments, dramatics, musicales, and church suppers. However, in a community where the population congestion is so great that the children must play in the streets, a church which has adequate recreational and athletic apparatus, well supervised by a staff of workers, will be able to reach and serve a thousand neighborhood youngsters. This latter church has more use for nursery and clinic facilities than does an institution in a community where babies are fewer and better cared for. Still different is the situation of a church in the downtown section of a resort city; it will find that a social center room, equipped with comfortable chairs, popular magazines and devotional literature, will be daily patronized by many transients, who come for rest, meditation and refreshment.

The church edifice should fit the community and its needs as a glove fits the hand — not too large nor too small and with no extra finger dangling at the side. A well equipped plant is no extravagance for any church unless there are more institutions

within the community than it can reasonably support. If there is overchurching, either some institutions have inadequate equipment or the per capita cost becomes excessive for church members. Wealthy communities can afford such unnecessary duplication, but in most districts the penalty for keeping up with the ecclesiastical Joneses is an ominous church debt, which will frighten away potential members. A threefold relationship, then, exists between having an adequate field for each church, efficient equipment, and the necessary membership and financial support.

There may be a lesson to Protestantism in the wise planning and the strategic location of most Roman Catholic churches. Rarely does this communion have parishes with a membership under five hundred, while the average in city after city ranges from twelve to eighteen hundred. A larger membership makes possible a more beautiful edifice and an effective program at a low per capita cost. In contrast, the average membership in Mediopolis for such communions as the Baptist, Methodist or Presbyterian ranges from three to six hundred. The inevitable result is that half of the local institutions are having a desperate struggle to maintain themselves, and a disproportionate amount of the energy of people and pastor is required to meet the interest charge on the debt burden. Protestant churches pay dearly for their independence and divisiveness; religion becomes more expensive and the community suffers. In an era of economic specialization and cooperation it is no longer feasible for each neighborhood group to perform all of the basic economic functions; the situation compels interdependence. Similarly, Protestantism must eventually discover that it is too costly to support numerous small, overlapping institutions, each with a separate building and equipment. The exigencies of the situation necessitate greater cooperation and church comity, if not actual church union.

Capable Leadership

Intelligent and conscientious leadership is perhaps the most important requisite for success in the local church. Even with

the best of equipment and a clear field, a blundering, lazy or timid minister will make a very poor showing, unless his ineptitudes are overbalanced by conscientious lay leadership. It is deserving of general recognition that a successful program does not rest entirely on the skills and attitudes of the professional leader, even though he is, from the standpoint of the organization, the kingpin.

Not every community makes the same demands on its religious leaders. In exclusive residential districts and in the " first " churches, the " preacher " type is called for. It is more important for the head of an institutional church to be a capable executive, administrator and money-raiser than an eloquent orator. In other instances a pastoral ministry is particularly appreciated. Wealthy or large congregations which can employ a trained staff (an associate pastor, a director of religious education, a parish visitor, a financial secretary, an office secretary) relieve their preacher of certain phases of the task of church leadership. This also permits greater specialization and therefore presumably greater skill in the performance of the different functions.

Certain traits are assets to the minister of any church, regardless of the distinctive community types: a firm conviction concerning the values, individual and social, of the Christian faith; sincerity and willingness to sacrifice for a cause; energy, imagination, a sense of humor, tact, patience and poise, approachability, interest in and enjoyment of people, readiness to forgive those who misunderstand and misinterpret, realism and a willingness to compromise on nonessentials; good health and personal habits; the attitude of a student, a trained mind, a knowledge of religious history and literature, of social processes and group behavior, of the techniques of the pastorate; fluency and coherency, good diction and grammar. Probably no minister is possessed of a maximum of all these traits, but some are more fortunate in this regard than others. Frequently such gifted persons are, with the help of commensurate lay support, able to make a striking success of what would appear to be a most unpropitious situation.

It should be recognized that in every community there are

literally thousands who are unreached by any church; hence the theoretical development of local religious institutions is almost unlimited. The difficulty is not simply a matter of overchurching; it may be that the churches are so ineffective that the community is actually underserved. When a new and commanding leader enters into such a setting a moribund institution may acquire new life, enlarged membership and a more vital program. One result of this revivification is that some persons will be attracted from the membership of other churches, but hundreds who have previously been without church affiliation will also be reached. Brother ministers may be irritated by this new competition and accuse the more aggressive pastor of proselyting. However, as in many human situations, the problem is too complicated for blame to be readily assessed.

The " life-line " of the church, a graph showing the size of membership annually for a period of twenty-five or more years, will give a rough indication (provided there has been no deliberate misreporting) of the periods of poor and of able leadership. After a study of hundreds of such charts, one is forced to the conclusion that short pastorates are closely associated with small memberships. Able men tend to leave after a few years for a stronger church, while the congregation objects to retaining the poorer men for more than a short term. Long pastorates, presumably a sign of skillful leadership, tend to coincide with periods of membership growth.

A more careful selection of candidates for the ministry, on the part of theological seminaries and the ordaining bodies of various denominations, would undoubtedly strengthen the whole church. Anyone who has a wide acquaintanceship among men in the ministry is aware that altogether too many of them are poorly trained, lacking in intellectual ability, or otherwise so handicapped as to be incapable of effective leadership. Such persons lower the status of the ministerial profession in the eyes of the community and weaken the influence of the local church, and may completely alienate the young people. It would be more profitable to the

denomination, from the point of view of finances as well as of membership, to pension them now rather than permit the continuance of their unintentionally disorganizing work.

A consideration of leadership in the local church would not be complete unless brief attention were also given to the essential contribution made by lay members. One responsibility of the church is to give young and older people a chance for self-realization, to assist them in developing leadership traits. The church, because of its varied activities, has more opportunity to do this than have most social institutions, and by such a training process it not only develops the people themselves but also insures its own continuance. Whether the church be large or small, these lay leaders give stability and strength to the whole structure, and in the process also confirm their own faith in the significance of religion. In the resort city or other areas of high mobility such volunteer workers are greatly needed but exceedingly difficult to secure. Lacking them, it may become necessary to employ some part-time assistants, but these, even though they be better trained, cannot impart the same sense of unity and solidity to the organization. In underprivileged areas where the ministry may be chiefly to children, the church will be handicapped until it develops out of the group some leaders who will give assistance and coherency to the program and at the same time make the institution indigenous to the local area.

An Appropriate Program

Certain features occur in the program of every church. It is not the function of this chapter to discuss such items (worship service, religious educational, and social activities) but rather the influence of the local community, which should determine the emphases and shape the pattern. In a church serving a community of first and second generation immigrants an abiding contribution can be made by interpreting the loyalties and points of view of foreign-born parents to their native-born children, and vice versa. To this end one church worked out an effective pro-

gram. A certain evening of the month was devoted to "the Italian homeland." All the people of the community — Italians, Syrians, Germans, and Poles, as well as Americans — were invited to attend. A stereopticon machine was secured and a set of colored slides portraying the beauties of Italy. While these pictures were being shown, Italian folk and opera songs were played softly on a phonograph and all were invited to join in the singing. Exhibits of heirlooms, handwork, and other treasures brought from Italy were arranged at the side of the room. It was a delightful evening, and the young people could better appreciate the warmth with which their parents talked of "Napoli." The following month the young people born in this country planned an equally enjoyable program, using stereopticon slides and songs. In subsequent months there were similar occasions featuring Germany, Poland, and other countries represented by people in the neighborhood. While the citizens of a residential suburb might appreciate one such evening it would simply constitute another entertainment; but for these people and others so situated it is a service of interpretation. In like manner, every community will call for special emphases in the work of the church. These can be discovered only through a study of the local area and the needs of the people.

The age distribution in Cicero is very different from that in San Diego. In the one the program will center around youth; in the other, around age. This does not indicate that either youth or age is to be neglected, but rather that additional features must be introduced to serve the dominant group adequately. From the standpoint of the future church however it is always sound policy to plan for the youth of the area, whether they be many or few. Unfortunately such planning is commonly done by those who are not young either in years or in understanding. Children and young people are not particularly interested in a sedentary and pious prayer meeting. They respond more quickly to a program of action, whereas their seniors may prefer to sit and "meditate."

As Ring Lardner expressed it in his classic "Symptoms of Being 35":

> For inst. when the telephone rings now days I am scared to death that its somebody asking us to go somewheres for dinner or somewheres. Six yrs. ago I was afraid it wasn't. At 29 home was like they say on the vaudeville stage, a place to go when all the other joints was closed up. At 35 its a place you never leave without a loud squawk. . . .*

Just as young people do not care to come together for a social evening of conversation, but would rather play games, so too do they prefer visiting a social settlement or mission church in a city to hearing a lecture about it. The gray-headed may discountenance this activism of youth, but elderly frowns will drive the latter from the church before changing their pattern. The fathers-in-Israel may as well recognize the boisterous, impetuous hop-skip-and-jump of youth and plan a program where this energy may be turned to good account in the development of Christian life attitudes. The minister will discover that those who are younger are particularly responsive to sermons dealing with the life of today and the problems of the present, and he will be wise to give a fair portion of his preaching time to such topics.

The health of the religious society of twenty years from now is being determined by our success or failure in reaching the youth of today. One of the best methods of quickening the conscience of official members and local leaders to this aspect of the work is to prepare population pyramids of the memberships of church and school, and then point out the gaps. In practically every case both pyramids will show a deficiency of men and boys, and frequently of girls as well, when compared with the age-sex distribution in the community or with the number of women in the organization. There are proportionately fewer boys in the church school now because the lads of a generation ago, their fathers, lost interest

* From *First and Last* by Ring Lardner. Used by permission of Charles Scribner's Sons, publishers.

in the church, and the sons are following in their footsteps. To break this vicious circle which undermines the effectiveness of the church in the local community it is necessary to develop activities which will appeal to the interests of men and boys. Only rarely does the men's club seem to be a solution; a broader program which brings in women also, or whole family groups, seems to meet with more success.

The church has been negligent in its treatment of the family, although it is dependent for its very existence on the survival of Christian education in the home, where the attitudes of children toward the most important issues of life are largely determined. Occasional sermons on Mothers' day are inadequate when the program constantly deals with the members of the family as individuals and seldom regards them in their natural primary relationship. Countless activities are provided for women, a few for men, some for small children, others for youth. Rarely is an effort made to bring people together as members of families. An occasional church plans family nights, when the parents and children come to the social hall for supper and an entertainment. A very few have joint evening programs, fathers and sons working together in woodcraft or nature study projects, mothers and daughters following other hobbies, all joining for supper at the beginning of the evening and again for a brief worship service at the close.

A few ministers, recognizing that marriage is a sacrament and not to be entered into lightly, go out of their way to offer counsel and advice to young men and women contemplating wedlock, and make themselves available to members of their church or community who have special personal or domestic problems. Where a minister does not exceed his abilities and training, such services will establish him in the confidence of the people and will form a unique contribution to the lives of many at a crucial period.

In a congregation of two thousand, individuals cannot know one another intimately. Usually this means that only a small minority participate in the work of the guilds and clubs. Com-

monly the minister and his associates will not be aware of this, since their attention is concentrated on those who are active rather than on those who appear only for worship services. Yet a church realizes its full strength and purpose only when it is also able to bring these marginal members into the fellowship. When people have friends who are more than acquaintances in the local church, they will be tied more closely to it.

Few adults recognize how lonely they are, except in a vague, uncomfortable way. In small congenial groups, established usually on the basis of common interests and perhaps of age, acquaintanceship can ripen into friendship, and here again the church can serve its people. Such fellowship circles should be related to the sponsoring body through appropriate discussion topics: the concrete problems in business ethics, current affairs, the regulation of the saloon in the home community, problems of child nurture, methods of teaching religion to children. One group may be held together by their interest in religious art or pageantry, while another will organize an orchestra. These circles may meet in the homes of members or in the church; in either case the pastor could profitably share an occasional evening with them. A congregation can become a strong, vital organization only through the slow process of integrating men and women in intimate groups and bringing these units together into the larger fellowship. It may be noted that the small church has less of a problem in producing a cohesive body of members than does the "first" church.

Reaching the Unchurched

By the very nature of its mandate the church has a responsibility to "seek out, to save and to serve." Yet while this is the theory — and ministers may also assert it is the fact — many institutions operate more or less as an exclusive club, catering to those who belong and making scant effort to contact outsiders. This situation is due to a variety of factors: high doctrinal barriers which have been built up, coldness or indifference of members

toward the outsiders, an apologetic attitude toward the institution on the part of ministers or laity, or the fact that the church is so far removed from real life and so ill-suited to meet the felt needs of the people that they in turn are uninterested in it.

People respond to an organization, religious or otherwise, if it has status, if they are welcome to participate and if the program makes an appeal. These are the three essentials. Omit one and the struggle of the institution for members becomes acute. Assuming, however, that these essentials do characterize a local church, it is still necessary for the religious leaders to reach out actively to invite the unchurched. This invitation to participate in the attractive and helpful program which has been developed can be extended to the people of the community in a variety of ways:

Publicity. Let the community know the church exists. It is advantageous to announce the services and the activities of the various church organizations through the local press, in school papers, and where possible in the publications of civic bodies and, through the same vehicles, to invite the participation of the community. This type of contact is of basic importance in a resort city, for it is practically the only way in which the transient can be reached. All too frequently the church is known only to its members and to people who live within sight of it. In making a recent study ten people of the area were asked where the nearest church was located. Four did not know the location of any organization, two were aware of the large Catholic institution five or six blocks removed, four could name nearer Protestant churches. Unfortunately this case is rather typical.

Pastoral calling. Minister and parish visitor will discover that people, particularly owners, who live in private homes welcome a brief and not overly unctuous call. This time-honored method of contacting people is still used in some cities and continues to bring fair results in the recruitment of new members.

The invitation of members. More effective than a call by the

pastor is a cordial invitation of a neighbor who has learned to cherish the fellowship of the church. It is as true of the church as of business concerns that " our customers are our best advertisers."

If people have been living in the area for ten years without establishing a church connection, there is small chance that publicity or visitation will induce them to join the fellowship. Such people have made their contacts, habits are established, they have found satisfactions elsewhere. The inertia is too great for a call to produce much change in their attitudes. The church had its chance, but it was years ago. After a family has been in the community for three months without establishing a church tie, the likelihood of securing its participation declines rapidly. People are most responsive when they come as strangers into a new neighborhood and are anxious to find congenial associations. This means that church workers must be on the alert.

There are several methods of discovering the newcomers, that they may be personally invited to church. In some cities, particularly where there is a strong united ministerial association, the local gas and light company may be induced to report each month the new gas-meter connections. Since practically every family coming to Mediopolis will utilize gas or electric service and will secure the connection within a week of arrival, this is an excellent source of information. In two of the cities studied there is an official welcoming service, sponsored by various advertisers, which also distributes a list of all the religious societies, with their addresses, and invites the newcomer to attend the church of his choice. Each minister receives the names and addresses of the new residents. In other cities the real-estate board makes available to ministers the list of new rentals. Where it is impossible for a church to utilize any one of these plans, it should devise a scheme of its own to locate strangers who are coming into the parish. One member could be appointed for each block to report any change of residence, in or out; this might be made a project for the women's society. A somewhat better plan is to utilize

the Boy Scout organization, different districts being assigned to each troop, which in turn will divide the responsibility among the individual members. The idea of such " scouting " appeals to the boys, who are looking for a chance to do a good turn. At the same time it builds them and their organization more closely into the church structure, since it gives them a sense of participation.

The best plan of discovering newcomers will be inadequate unless it is followed by an invitation and a demonstration of personal interest in them. Yet even this will not suffice. A congenial fellowship, an uplifting worship service, a varied program suited to the needs of such people as live in the local community, are also requisite if the great unchurched masses of Mediopolis are ever to be brought into vital contact with the church at " Tenth and Ann streets."

APPENDIXES

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA FOR SELECTED CITIES AND TOTAL U. S. URBAN POPULATION

	Population, 1930	Population Composition			Per Cent Total Population Illiterate	Per Cent Children 18–20 Years of Age Attending School
		Per Cent Native White	Per Cent Foreign White	Per Cent Negro		
Commercial Cities						
Des Moines, Ia.	142,559	89.4	6.5	3.8	0.7	29.7
Duluth, Minn.	101,463	74.9	24.6	0.4	1.2	28.7
El Paso, Tex.	102,421	38.2 *	2.8	1.8	8.0	21.0
Montgomery, Ala.	66,079	53.7	1.0	45.4	9.4	22.4
Salt Lake City	140,267	86.1	12.3	0.5	0.6	33.1
Wichita, Kans.	111,110	91.9	2.0	5.1	0.7	32.8
Industrial Cities						
Altoona, Pa.	82,054	91.9	7.3	0.8	1.9	22.5
Binghamton, N.Y.	76,662	85.2	13.8	0.9	2.8	23.6
Evansville, Ind.	102,249	91.6	2.0	6.4	1.8	15.4
Scranton, Pa.	143,433	81.7	17.7	0.5	4.1	16.1
Tacoma, Wash.	106,817	79.4	18.5	0.7	1.1	32.1
Winston-Salem, N.C.	75,274	56.2	0.6	43.3	8.0	12.8
Industrial Suburbs						
Cicero, Ill.	66,602	70.5	29.3	. . .	4.3	13.2
Dearborn, Mich.	50,358	72.6	26.6	0.1	1.8	19.2
Gary, Ind.	100,426	59.4	19.3	17.8	5.7	17.0
Lynn, Mass.	102,320	72.6	26.5	0.8	2.1	28.8
McKeesport, Pa.	54,632	75.8	20.4	3.5	6.1	16.0
Paterson, N.J.	138,513	67.0	30.8	2.1	6.2	16.5
Residential Suburbs						
Cleveland Hts., O.	50,945	83.9	15.0	1.1	0.5	49.6
East Orange, N.J.	68,020	78.0	14.8	7.2	1.2	30.3
Evanston, Ill.	63,338	76.9	15.2	7.8	0.7	45.8
Mt. Vernon, N.Y.	61,499	70.8	23.2	5.9	3.1	27.5
Newton, Mass.	65,276	78.2	20.8	1.0	1.3	42.7
Pasadena, Calif.	76,086	77.9	13.0	4.0	0.8	48.6
Resort Cities						
Atlantic City, N.J.	66,198	61.3	15.0	23.6	1.8	20.0
Miami, Fla.	110,637	69.8	7.4	22.7	2.5	20.8
San Diego, Calif.	147,995	79.5	11.1	1.8	0.9	33.7
Total Urban U.S.		75.6	15.6	7.5	3.2	22.5

* This low percentage is to be accounted for by the large number of Mexicans in El Paso, 57.2 per cent of the entire population. The census does not include Mexicans and Orientals as foreign-born whites. Percentages for "other races," generally small, are not included in this table.

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION*

Urban Type	Commercial City	Industrial City	Industrial Suburb	Residential Suburb	Resort City
Sample Cities	Des Moines Duluth El Paso Montgomery Salt Lake City Wichita	Altoona Binghamton Evansville Scranton Tacoma Winston-Salem	Cicero Dearborn Gary Lynn McKeesport Paterson	Cleveland Hts. East Orange Evanston Mt. Vernon Newton Pasadena	Atlantic City Miami San Diego
Total Employed	278,667	245,849	221,837	167,810	148,223
Occupation	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Agriculture	1.8	1.1	0.4	2.0	2.8
Building	6.3	5.4	5.2	7.5	9.0
Manufacturing	22.0	39.7	49.8	14.8	13.2
Transportation	10.3	10.1	6.5	6.2	7.5
Trade	20.0	15.1	12.1	21.8	19.6
Public Service	2.3	1.8	1.8	1.7	7.2
Professional	9.0	6.8	6.0	15.0	8.7
Domestic	15.1	10.7	7.5	17.0	23.5
Clerical	13.3	9.3	10.7	14.1	8.5
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0

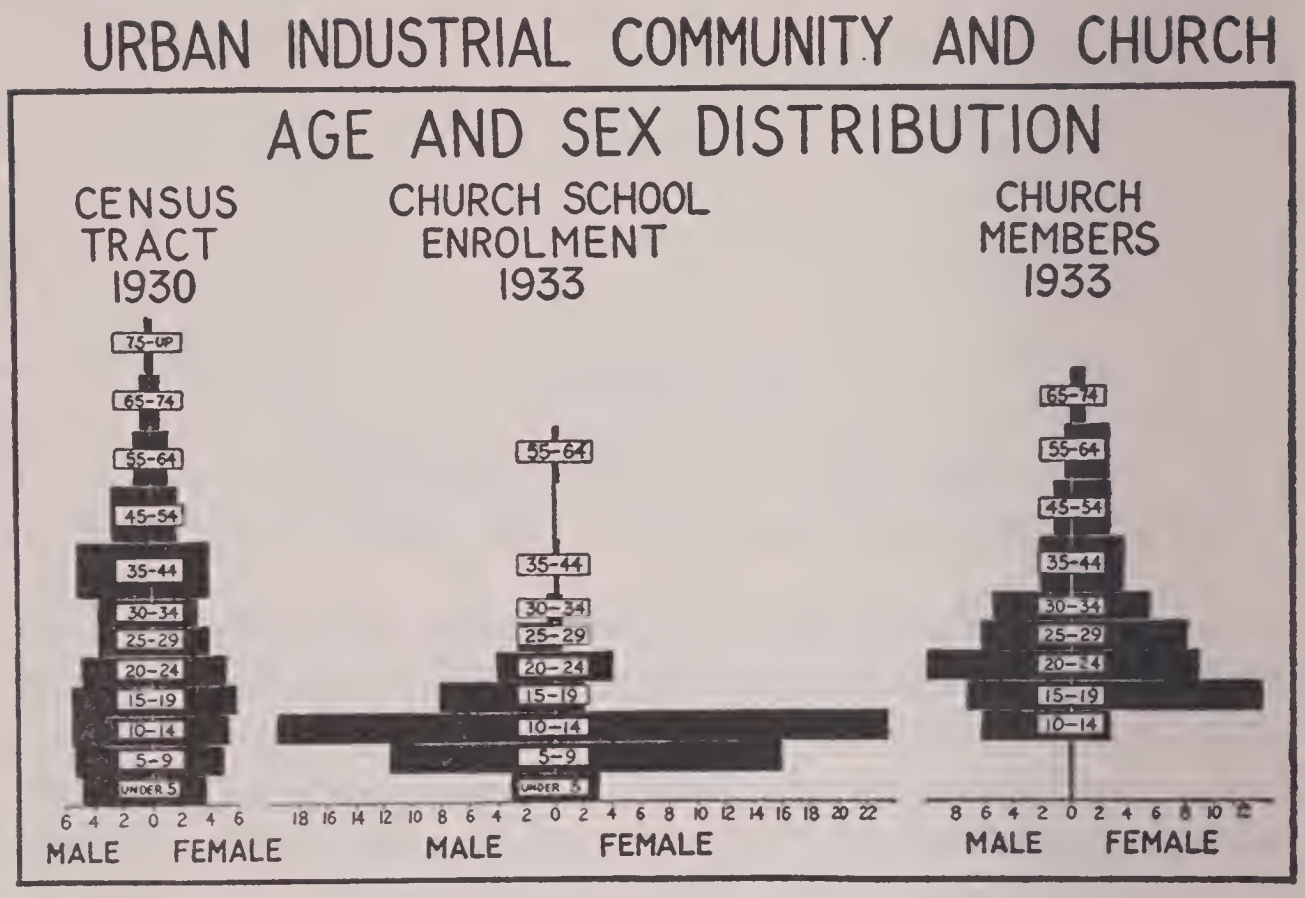
* The Mean Average for the five types of Mediopolis based on the number employed in the sample cities.

APPENDIX III

THE POPULATION PYRAMID: A DEVICE FOR STUDYING THE LOCAL CHURCH

The "population pyramid," which depicts the actual age and sex distribution of the people within a specific area, has been employed by the United States Bureau of the Census for several decades in making demographic surveys. The same principle can be utilized in the study of institutions such as the church. It has been utilized to good effect for a number of years in analyzing the relationship between particular churches and their local communities, to discover how completely the church and its organizations are serving a cross section of the community. This does not imply that the church will reach every person within its parish, but that its program, if well rounded, will attract persons of all ages and both sexes. The population pyramid device, then, furnishes insight not only into the age and sex distribution of members and constituents in an organization, but also into the latter's success in adapting its program to meet the felt needs of those who live within the parish.

In the accompanying chart a typical population pyramid for an industrial community is shown at the left. The portion of the pyramid to the left of the center line represents the male population, that to the right, the female. The horizontal bars indicate the relative size of the different age groups, beginning with the youngest (under five years) at the bottom and ending with those sixty-five years of age and over at the top. Since communities differ greatly from one another in age and sex composition, a dif-



ference may naturally be expected in the type of work done by the church in communities of contrasting population composition. In a similar way a pyramid can be prepared for the children, young people and adults enrolled in the church school, and another for the church membership. These three pyramids are needed for the study of any one church, since those for the church school and the church can be judged only in terms of their particular parish. If the balance between the sexes in the church pyramids is comparable with that of the community and if the age distribution is practically the same, it is a clear indication that this particular church is conducting a well balanced program that appeals to the whole of the people and not overwhelmingly to one sex or age group.

To indicate the contribution made by the pyramid device in the analysis of a church's program, a brief study of a sample institution is presented. The accompanying chart depicts a community of workingmen's homes in a midwest city. Most of the heads of

families, when employed, are engaged in semi-skilled and skilled labor in various industrial plants. The pyramid at the left shows the age-sex distribution of the entire population in the parish (in this case it was possible to secure detailed figures for several census enumeration districts which formed only part of the city ward). The balance between the sexes is practically normal, except for the definite excess of men over women thirty-five to fifty-four years of age. This can be explained by the fact that a large proportion of the persons living in the area are immigrants who came over from Europe prior to the restriction law of 1921; as is typical in such communities there are more men than women. As time passes, this difference will disappear.

The center pyramid, showing the distribution of church school enrollment, is fairly representative of urban church schools in an industrial setting in that few persons over twenty-five or thirty years of age are enrolled. It is to be expected that there will be relatively few under five years of age. The deficiency in the number of boys as compared with that of girls between five and fourteen does however require explanation. In practically every church which has been studied it has been found that the program, for one reason or another, does not attract the boys as it does the girls. Among the factors involved are: greater difficulty in securing capable teachers for boys than for girls, the tendency to use women teachers who may not "understand" boys, problems of discipline, difficulties with program material and local use of material, and a more or less conscious feeling on the boys' part that the church is a feminine organization. The solution of these problems is basic to the continuance of the church as an effective institution.

Surprisingly enough, there are four times as many boys as girls from fifteen to nineteen years of age in the church school, an even distribution from twenty to twenty-four, and a larger proportion of young men than young women from twenty-five to twenty-nine. There is a definite reason for this. The pastor, a capable young

seminary graduate, who had been serving this church for eight years, organized boys' clubs, printing classes and so forth. His work was chiefly with those twelve years of age and over. This intensive cultivation is naturally reflected in greater interest on the part of the boys. Further, their loyalty has been maintained through a social program even after they have left the clubs. This chart does indicate, however, that some equally skilled and devoted leader is needed to organize the girls' activities.

The third pyramid portrays the age-sex distribution of church members. Certain points of strength and weakness are readily noticed. The youthful aspect of the membership bodes well for the future. When there are more church members over forty than under, the future is clearly a precarious one, since the passage of time will slowly remove those now supporting the church by their presence and their contributions, while those who should assume the burden in future years have never joined. However, in this case it is rather surprising that there are fewer members from thirty-five to forty-four years of age than from twenty-five to thirty-four, inasmuch as the community shows a measurably greater proportion of the older group. Nevertheless this divergence from the community pyramid is to the advantage of the local church from the point of view of the future, although the community composition indicates that a greater effort might reasonably be made to interest those above thirty-five. It is evident that the church is failing to attract men over this age. While there are more men than women in the community there are only half as many in the local church. Surely religion and the church can meet the needs of men as well as of women. One problem before the pastor and his membership is then, How may we appeal to these men and interest them in the work? It may also be pointed out that the pastor must translate the interest shown by the young men of fifteen to nineteen years in the church school, into a desire for membership in the church itself.

Directions for Constructing a Pyramid

The necessary information for the community pyramid may be found in the most recent United States Decennial Census for every township, village, and city and, in cities of over fifty thousand population, for every ward. Any minister, with the assistance of one or two persons who are well acquainted in the church, can classify the membership on the basis of sex and age; ordinarily five-year intervals are used up to twenty-five years of age, as 0–4, 5–9, 10–14, 15–19, and 20–24; and ten-year intervals beyond that age, as 25–34, 35–44, 45–54, 55–64, 65 and over. Church school records will give sufficiently accurate information for school members under twenty-five. The ages of the older persons can be guessed within the ten-year limits.

The percentages for each pyramid are to be computed separately. Let the entire group to be tabulated (population, school enrollment, or church membership) equal 100 per cent. Determine what percentage each age-sex group is of the total. With this information at hand one is ready to construct the pyramid. A vertical line at the center divides the sexes; conventionally males are placed at the left, females to the right. Horizontal markings on this line, at equal intervals, beginning at the base line, will divide the figure into five-year periods. On the horizontal base line percentages are marked off in either direction from the center line which is zero per cent. The length of the bar from the center line will in each case indicate the percentage which has been calculated for that particular age-sex group. At this point a word of warning should be given concerning the recording on the chart of age groups covering ten years. In such a case the bar will be twice as high as for a five-year interval; therefore, in indicating this group on the chart, the computed percentage should be halved. In like manner, the computed percentage for the group sixty-five years of age and over should be divided by four, and the corresponding bar cover a twenty-year interval (sixty-five to eighty-five).

If there are any questions concerning the use of this technique, the writer invites correspondence. He would also appreciate it if pastors would send him copies of the data (age-sex distribution) for school enrollment and church membership in their local churches. Such material will be treated as confidential, but will be of assistance in analyzing future trends for the church as a whole.

APPENDIX IV

METHODS OF SECURING DATA ON LOCAL CHURCHES

As part of the study of Mediopolis and its churches, a seminar was conducted each summer from 1934 through 1937 at Garrett Seminary, designed for pastors serving churches in cities of from 50,000 to 150,000 inhabitants. One or more ministers from each of sixteen cities of mediopolitan size attended. In the seminar problems of the local church and of intra- and inter-denominational relationships were given detailed study, experiences in one city being checked over against those in others. The problems and work of their churches and denominations were compared with those in larger and smaller cities, fourteen of these being represented. The comparisons afforded in this connection aided in laying the foundations for the thesis of this book.

To gather further information from various denominations within a number of cities of this size, a questionnaire form was prepared in the autumn of 1936 and, after due testing, was sent to all of the ministers serving nine major Protestant denominations (Baptist, northern and southern, Congregational Christian, Methodist Episcopal, northern and southern, Presbyterian, northern and southern, Protestant Episcopal, and United Lutheran) in thirty-three cities, including all the sample cities treated in chapters 3 to 7. A very gratifying response was received to the questionnaires. The large majority of the ministers obviously gave much time and thought to their replies. Not a few took the trouble to write additional letters describing one or another special

aspect of their work, or stressing certain difficulties connected with it. Of the 712 forms which were sent out, 313 were returned. The response was uniformly satisfactory for the different cities and denominations. Much use was made of these materials, particularly in chapters 10 to 14.

Because of the nature of the questionnaire it is possible that replies were not received from a complete cross section of the ministry. While a number of conservative ministers replied, the likelihood is that a larger response would be received from those having what might be called a community point of view. But inasmuch as this biasing effect is probably equal in various types of city, the comparison between them would seem to be legitimate. Only major Protestant denominational groups were included in the questionnaire study, with the result that small sectarian and free-lance churches were not heard from.

The questions asked were as follows:

Study of Cities 50,000–150,000 Population, 1936

City _____ Church Address _____
Church _____ Denomination _____
No. of Church Members _____ No. of Sunday School Members _____

1. Please check the type of community in which your church is located:

Center of City _____ Industrial or deteriorated area _____
Workingmen's residence area _____ Middle-class residence area _____
Exclusive residence area _____ Other _____

Indicate any dominant nationality or racial groups (other than native white American) in the neighborhood of your church.

2. Is your program designed only for members, or are there elements which are designed for the people of the community whether members or nonmembers?

If the latter, please list such items and the number of persons participating.

3. Do the majority of your church members live within a half-mile radius of the church? Within a one-mile radius?

4. What are your objectives as minister of your church? Please be as specific as possible.

5. What do you consider to be the chief problems confronting your church in relation to:

(a) Its membership
(b) Its local community
(c) Its city.

6. Are there any special religious problems in the city of which you are aware, such as competition between churches either in your own denomination or between churches of different denominations? Please describe fully.

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